

HISTORY OF LEWIS XIII



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OF

LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Navarre.

CONTAINING

The most Remarkable Occurrences in FRANCE and EUROPE during the Minority of that Prince.

By Mr. MICHEL L. ASSOR.

LONDON,

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Lord Viscount 97 WOODSTOCK.

My LORD,

A S soon as I began to write the Book, I now present you with, My Lord the Earl of Portland, your Illustrious Farber, did me the Honour to employ me in your Service, to read History to you. I was surprized with Pleasure, to observe that the Providence of God having defigned me for this Employment, had turned my thoughts upon a Subject; the knowledge of which is so absolutely necessary for you, that so you may A 2 reap

reap the full advantage of those wise Instructions, which your Father who loves you tenderly, will one day give you, concerning those extraordinary Revolutions, which Europe has with Amazement beheld for thirty years together.

He knows the secret Motives and hidden Springs, which produced them all; and he has always been the Depositary of the Secrets of that Great Prince, who had the greatest hand in them; he has served him in his brave and hazardous Enterprizes, with equal Zeal and Courage.

Tis from a Father so exquisitely skilled in all the Arts of Politicks and War, that you will learn,
my Lord, the Intrigues of all the
Negotiations, which have been transacted in his time, the present Interests of Princes, the Account of Battels, Sieges, Marches of Armies, in
which

which he has always held a confiderable Post. In giving you the Narrative of his own Actions, he will instruct you, how a Person of your Rank and Quality, may equally love your Country, and a Prince, who do's you the Honour to trust you with his Secrets; what Rules you are to observe, that so you may do good service for the one, without intrenching upon that inviolable fidelity, which you owe to the other. In Short, be will teach you, what a Peer of England is obliged to do, that he may be serviceable to the King in Parliament, and at the same time deserve the Esteem and Approbation of a People extremely jealous of its Rights and Priviledges.

Others besides, my Lord, the Earl of Portland may possibly be able to give you good Counsel in these Affairs. But there is one thing yet behind, which your incomparable Father alone can teach

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you ;

you; And that is, My Lord, Moderation in an elevated Fortune, He has himself lately given you a rare example of it. The Greatness of his Soul in this respect, is a thing so extraordinary, that you will scarce-ly find an equal Instance, in all those Ancient and Modern Histories, which you defign to read. Keep your Eyes always fixt on this Domestick Example. It can't but powerfully impress this weighty Maxim in your mind, That to fet bounds to your Ambition, though just and reasonable, is truer and more substantial Glory, than 'tis to rise to the highest Dignities.

I have told you my Lord, that the History of the Reign of Lewis the XIII. will be of great use to you, to let you into the understanding of those Revolutions, which have happened for some time past in Europe. Tou will there see how the Affairs of the Empire put on a new face after

after the Peace of Munster; And there find the causes and first beginnings of the Decay of the Spanish Monarchy, which before that time, was dreadful to its Neighbours. Tou will there read the first steps of France, to that beight which it arrived at, under the Conduct of the violent and refined Politicks of a Cardinal, who renders his Master powerful at home, by humbling the Princes and great Men there, and formidable abroad, by entring him into a seasonable League with the Crown of Swedeland and the United Provinces. The good Correspondence which the great Frederick, Henry Prince of Orange, and this able Minister held together, did not a little assist the Cardinal, in compassing his vast Defigns.

The Swedes were bitherto hardly known, but for their Wars against Denmark, Poland, Muscovy, and some

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Some extraordinary Revolutions, which Religion, or the differing interests of King and Subjects had produced in Swedeland. We shall see in the course of this History, a new Warrier arising out of the North with a small number of Troops, for the Rescue of Germany, almost entirely enflav'd by the Ambition and Arms of Ferdinand the Second. Gu-Stavus Adolphus King of Swedeland makes the Emperor Tremble, for fear of losing his Hereditary Countries. The Rapid course of his Victorius Arms carryed to the Rhine, makes jealous even those Princes which call'd him to their Assistance, and those Sovereigns which bad defired his Alliance. That which you ought particularly to be affected with, My Lord, is the reading of the resolute Efforts of your Dear and Illustrious Country, to defend it's Liberty after the twelve years Truce was expir d. The Spaniard's pleas'd themselves with the hopes of making

king great Advantages of the Divisions which arose in Holland, and some other Provinces, after the Conclusion of that Truce. But the Valour and Wife Conduct of Maurice and Frederick Henry Princes of Orange defeated those hopes, which feem'd to be but too well grounded. Tou will be very much pleased to find bere Sieges Form'd by those Two Great Masters in the Art of Taking Towns, and Victories Won by those Two Famous Generals, to whom they came from all Parts of the World to learn the Art of War; and, in short, That Courage, not Inferiour to that of the Ancient Romans, with which the United Provinces did weary out the King of Spain, until he renounc'd all his Pretenfions to 'em, and was forc'd to acknowledge them, in a Solemn Treaty, for a Free Republick.

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I believe you have not forgot that which my Lord, your Father, told you in one of his Pleasant and Profitable Discourses which he had with you the last Summer, in the Walks of his beloved Solitude near the Hague. He recited to you one Day the Prediction of Prince Frederick Henry, a little before his Death: That his Posterity would be under a Necessity one Day to declare against France, as he had been to oppose the Ambitious Defigns of the House of Austria. It has fell out as this Judicious and Knowing Politician had foretold. The House of Orange bath had the Honour to have given the first Blow, which shook the Power of Spain, and by a Surprizing Turn of Affairs, the only Remaining Branch of that Noble Stock, which bath been so fruitful in Heroes, can glory this Day, that by his Prudence and Valour he bath

hath defended that same Monarchy, threatned with approaching Ruin. Could that sierce and bloody Philip II. have ever thought that the Posterity of that Man, whom he had basely murder'd, after an unworthy and ridiculous Proscription, should be one Day the best Support of his tottering Crown?

The History of the Reign of Lewis XIII. will discover to you, my Lord, the Reasons which Philip Frederick Henry bad to sore-see the Glory which was reserved for a Great King, the Heir of his Blood and of his Virtues, who gives you already signal Marks of his Distinguishing Favour.

'Iwould be but a small Matter to learn-from History, The Interests of Sovereigns, the Accounts of Battles and Sieges, the Intrigues of Treaties and Negotiati-

ons, the Good or Bad Quality of the different Actors. Its greatest and principal End is to confirm in you the Good Senti-ments of Religion, Virtue and Probity, which, my Lord, your. Father hath took care to inspire you with. They charm'd me the first Day I had the Honour to be in your Company; and I bless God, with all my Heart. that they appear so pure, and so deeply engraven in your Soul, that we have all the Reason in the World to bope, that the Contagious and infinuating Air of the Court, and of the World, will never be able to corrupt or wear them out; and that you will never wander from the Paths of Piety, Prudence, and Valour, which my Lord, the Earl of Portland, hath trac'd out to you. vens grant, which have defign'd you to enjoy the great Advantages which a Father can leave to bis

his Son, that you may make an Use of them worthy of the Purity of the Holy Religion which we profess. These are the ardent Desires of him, who shall be, all his Life, with a prosound Respect, and inviolable Fidelity,

My Lord,

Your most Humble,

and most Obedient Sevant,

MICHAEL Le VASSOR.

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Your most Humble,

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PREFACE.

Ince all who have written Hiftery be- Polybius fore me, fays an Able and Judici- in the ous Writer, bave taken pains to ning. Shew tibe usefulness of things past. It would be to no purpose to excite the Curiofity of the Reader by a like Preface. All Men are sensible that the reading of Hiflory, is the most proper means to form . the Mind and Inclinations of those who apply themselves to it, with Reflection and Judgment. They who are born to the first employs of the State, learn here how to govern those whom Providence has placed under them; and private Persons often find Instructions for the Conduct of their Lives. To read the Ancients and Moderns, and only fill the Head with a confus d heap of different Facts, is the vainest thing in the World, and conduces most to Debauch the Mind. But to run thro History with a delign to learn Human Nature, to reflect on the Disorderly and Unjust Passions of Men : to diffinguish Solid and Real Virgue, from

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that which consists in the mistaken Opinion of the Multitude; This certainly is the most proper Study to form a Man for the World and Business.

Notwithstanding the reading History has these mighty Advantages, there are few that profit by ir. The fare of those

few that profit by it. The fare of those who spend their time in it, is often the fame with that of Persons who Travel, live in a Court, or Converse in the World. A Man who has the Skill to make a good ale of his Parts and Reason, Accomplishes himself very much in Foreign Cou tries, by Conversation with Courtiers, and Men of Business. But it ordinarily happens, that Travellers only feek to Diwert themselves in the places where they come. A young Fellow seturns out of Italy, Prance, Germany or England, a ignorant as he went there. And very of ten, in flead of correcting his Domestic Vices, he encreases them, by the Adon of Foreign ones. Most Men. come to Court, or into the World, on think how to wast away their Lives, a spend their Time agreeably. Wery from confidering how private Interest an Pattion, play their parts on the public Stage, and realouing with themselves of the different steps Men take, and greated they only strive to please them, and when savour, by some Mouves of interfaceure. The greatest part of those with the control of read History, fall into the fame Mile They only aim to confume their Tim

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and pais away the Tedious Hours. It is enough for them, if a Book be Pleafant and Diverting. They are never in Pain to profit, by the Examples of Virtue they meet with, or reflect on the Faults of those who are exposed in it. This Negligence proceeds from the little care taken to acquaint Youth with the Nature of Mankind, and infufing good Principles of Morality into them, before they are put on reading Hiftory, fent into Foreign Countries, or left to live at large in the World. If their Tutors and Governors which had the Charge of their Education, had accustomed them to Meditate on those Remarks, which the Incomparable Author of the Search after Truth, has made ?. Male on the Mistakes and Delutions of our branche, de Senies, Imagination and Paffions, on the Recherch Maxims of Mr. de la Rechefmeaule, and fome other good Books published in our Times; I do not in the least question, but Minds thus prepared, would draw a wonderful Pruit from Travelling, Conversation in the World, and Ancient and Modern Hiftery.

Perhaps too, the imall number of good Authors in this and former Ages, is another cause of the little Progress made by those who promisesously run over all, without Choice or Diffraction. Herodolm, whom Chero Liv. 1. the Ancients call the Father of Hiffory, is De Lain. a polite Writer, and plealant to read. One may learn good Jonick in him. Let

him

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Model of an Elegant and Clean Style but what Solid Knowledge can be gained out of an Author, fill'd with Fables and Falsities, who only aims to Divert, and not to Inftruct? The Hiftory of Cyrus is thought to be a Romance, devised by Xenophon. I do not know whether the Plan of the Work do not come nearer Truth than what Herodotus delivers of the Birth, Conquest and Death of Cyrus. The one at least, is more probable than the other. However this be, a Man of good Sense, will ever prefer the Reading of Xenophon, to Herodorus. If the former did not defign an exact History of the Life of Cyrus, he draws at least the Idea. of a good and just Government. This should make us value the Eight Books of the Cyropedia of Xenophon, more than the nine of Herodotus his History, though they have the Name of the nine Muses given them. This may amuse me indeed, but the other will instruct me. I find a thousand Maxims, a thousand Reflections, proper to improve my Mind, and Reform my Paffions. Thucidides was very fenfible of Herodors his Fault. Notwithstanding the great Reputation of a Man. who first writ History among the Greeks, I bad rather, said he, as Lucian Reports, displease by Speaking the Truth, than please by relating of Fables. If I do not please my Reader so well, I shall profit him more. I would

Discourse of the manner of writing Hifory.

PREPACE

I would not projudice bim, by Mocommada ring my folf to big Virious Palares sovie

This Admirable Author, whom Sala Tieus Livy, and all the good Mafters have taken for a Model, faw farther, that a perfect Historian ought not only to Relate Matters with the greateft Sincerity, but must apply himself so the instruction of the Reader. This he has done in his Harangues in fo Artful a manner, the Cicero was charmed with them. " The are, fays he, almost as many Sentences, in Words. This way of Influenting by File Cicero L. IL' rangues, was very proper in the Fishing De Orange of the Republicks of Achies on Rome The giftrares, fpoke in the Affemblies of the People, of the greatest Affairs of State. There for of Speeches now a days, can-not have place any where but in the Hiftony of England, or shit of the Regal gues, Modern Authors ought in imitation of Tacism, to endeavour to infruct in the Body of their History. In his time there were yet some Speeches made in the Senate. But as the Successors of Augustus pever proposed the most weighty Matters there; their Tyranny did not fuffer the Senators to declare their Minds freely. Nothing was faid there; but to flatter the Emperor. For this reason, Taciens took a different way from Saluft, and Tittle Liny. Inflead of inflructing by his Harangues, he does is by his Reflections on the Transactions

RREMAGE

chions heredates, be in the Pictures he gives us of the Principal Actors he bring on the Stage modul Add

I have often confidered with my felf why Histories have been for rare in Agesor Fleisbins minitions feveral pri had with the famethings as be hat/den These are feveral Realons to be given for this. Some feek to flester that from whom they expect a Reward shers only sim to divert the Render, mel Cicero ad litténels sind Bale. L'hert sine mais l'accordant Lib. V. mirore les Command, or les dels Rogard l'ap. 12.

Persons abbrestad in them; such was absent auchiels Cioure desired to have of his Ca

Ciaro L. IL. fulat, the Author of which, did not for plesto entol din Herogra little ment i Teputi world alleir of Princes and a of their Ancesters. We know fome too their own Eyes. What Sincerity, what Truth, what Infraction, can we expect from those Authors who will give us hideour or beautiful Pictures, as their Interests, Paffions or Deline to pleafe their Parries or Readers lead them & Befides, there is fill another Region why good Histories have been and ever will be exceedily rare ; because these Works frem to fidemand a great number of excellent Quali-ties in him, who undertakes them and ad

sauf:

Cicero

PREKACE

Clore maintains, that a good History Lib. II. de an, ought to be an excellent Orator. And Orator. how many things, good God ! do's he require to make a finish't Orator? Quintilis Lib # Mi an will have the Style of an History, bigher than that of the Tribunal and Bar, and approach to a Poetical one. What Care; what Application must a Manufe, to keep that exact Midium of a Scyle, more sublime than that of an Orator, without being carried into the Dithyrambicks of the Poets. Though these two Men were greet Judges, I do not know whether their Judgment be a fure Rule on thefe Occasions. Lucian feems to me, to fpeak

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more justly of the Historical Stile. This a Different Author will have it clear, intelligible of the and natural, without being low, and church with the Figures, which give a Relift to the Discourse, should not be see Subtime, or soo far feechs. He allows indeed, the Style should fwell a little on some Occasions, provided the Writer forbear al Embufiafm and Polerick Rage: Excessive Strains and Lines, lays Lucium, are the sun greatof Faults of an Historian. If a Writer would rife; let is rather be by the things be represents, shan Words. It is much better to relate Extraordinary things in a plain and common mauner, than to weaken the Thought by straining the Imagination. I would have the Periods neither too long, nor too much fludied; and the Discourfe meither too Numerous or negletted. That she Thoughts hould have more Solidity; than Luftre, That

That they should come nearer the Reasons of a Wife Statesman, than the witty Turns of a Declamer. In Short, the Sentences must not too frequently occur, not be too far asunder. They ought as it were, to be enchased in the Body of the Work. Lucian requires much les than Cicero or Quintilian; but how difficult is it to reach that just Mediocrity; with which he is contented? Thucydides and Tacieus, strove to diftinguish themselves by a Nervous Eloquence, which fays a great many things in a few Words. But they have made themselves dark, and often are unintelligible. Titus Livy on the contrary, is embaraffed by his measured Periods. By seeking to give Number and Harmony to his Discourse, he loses the weight of what should at first be presented to the Readers View.

Polybius would have an Historian, to be a great Statesman. None will ever be capable of Writing an Hiftory well, fays he, nor escape committing great Faults, till he has gained a Confummate Prudence by long Use, and a great Experience in the Bufiness of the World. reason, that Author who himself was an excellent Officer in an Army, and Statesman, wished those who had a share in the Government, and Important Negotiations, and knew the Reasons and Motives of Enterprizes, would apply themselves in the same manner he had done, to give the History of their own Times, and never decline an Employment so profitable

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and necessary to the Publick. Polybius his With was good in/a Republick. Men of Estates and Letters, being ordinarily employed in these fort of Governments they are able to relate with more Art and Sincerity, the Affairs they happen to manage, and discover to Posterity, the true Motives of the Enterprizes, and the different Interests of all Parties engaged with them. For this Reason it is, the History of Thucy dides and Polybius, deserve fo much to be commended. Their Probity thines in every line of their Works: The former lived in the time of the Peloponnefian War, which he has described: He had an Employ and Character in the Republick of Athens, whose Policy and Government he perfectly well underflood. The other had been the Spectator Polyb. L. of most of the things be relater: He had III. C. V. affifted in the Execution of Some of them. In short, he Commanded in Enterprizes, of which himself had been the Adviser. What Polybius had not feen, he reports from the Accounts given bim by shofe who bad been Eye-witneffes of them.

In vain it is to wish, the present Minifters of State would write the History of their Times. These Gentlemen entirely, employed in making their Fortunes, think they can bestow their time better in advancing themselves and their Families. They will be fure not to give us an Exact and Faithful account of the Intriques of the Cabinet and Court, and discover

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to the World the true Motives of Wars, Alliances, and other Esterprizes, Will they publish to the World their own Ro guery and Villanies? Will they freak fincerely of the Infamies and Criminal Palsions of a Prince, to whom they owe their Places and Preferments? Will they tell the Artifices they used, to flatter or incente them, to roin a Rival of more Meril than themselves, or advance their own illdeferving Creatures ? Statefmen and Ambaffadors sometimes write Memoirs. But thele are not to be trufted to. Without fearing to make a raft Judgment, I will fay, these Writers of Quality are like cerrain Persons, who published the History of their own Actions in Cicero's sime. This Man, the values that ever lived, was even dead with longing to fee his Confidat writ by some eminent and able Pen. Displeased that he could not obtain what he so earneftly covered, he was removed to do others had done, and to write himfelf the Wonders of that Confulat, with which he had ftunn'd the World in his Oratiens , Books and Letters. One thing restrained him. For, says he very Ingenuoully, there we two very great inconveniences, in being the Historian of a Man own Adions. He muft be too madeft in bu from Praifes, and diffemble his Faults, to of all Writers of Memoirs. If Decency requires them not to freak too well of shemfelves, their Partiality leads them

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If an Hiftorian ought to be a Statefman for the same Reason he onghe to be skilful in the Art of War. Without this, how, shall he describe an Incampment, a Siege, or a Bettle. If I may freely speak my Thoughts, these Particulars are not very necessary in a General History. Thu Caurion belongs more to a particular Relation, or the Memoirs of a Man who intends to give Infernations to those of his Protection. I have heard an emineur De. Prelate, who has a Noble Genius for sight writing History, as well as for the Pulpir labor and Divinity lay, That the late Mr. de Schembergh, Mareichal of France, and after a Duke in England, had advised him to forbear entring too far into Particulars, in Matters of War. None, faid that excellent General, but the most able her of the Trade can speak well of these things. It is almost impossible to know exactly all the Circumstances of an Action. The General gives Orders, and after is ignorant of what passes. The Interious Officers must give an Account of where they do themselves. It is realonable to believe the Memoirs Cefer has left so Pofterity should have the unnost Buschness : who did not exceedingly rely on them.

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to mbut was reported to him of other Mans Julio C Aftione, and is not very faithful in what bef relates

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relates of his own ; either because bis Memory deceiv'd him, or he would not fincerely (peak the Truth. Since it is difficult to learn all the Circumstances of a Battle. where things on both sides are in great Confusion, an Historian may be excused, if he do not inform us of all Particulars. He may describe more exactly a March, an Incampment, or a Siege: But of what use is this at bottom? Few have any Interest here, except those of the Trade. The Bufinel's of History is more to form a Genrleman than to inftruct a Soldier or an Officer. These Reasons have prevailed with me to think I may undertake to write the Hiftory of a Reign. which contains a great number of Sieges and Battles, though I understand nothing of the Military Art.

I have not more Experience in Affairs of State, or Court Intrigues: This is true. But on the other Hand, I do not relate the Actions of my own time. I have cholen, with all the Industry and Judgment I am Master of, what is extant any where, of all that passed in the Reign of Lewis XIII. There are some who imagine a good History cannot be written, unless the Author have secret and curious Memoirs. This is the way some late Writers have taken to raise and give a Reputation to their Works. Varillas at first surprised the World by publishing, that he composed his Histories from Extracts of Manuscripts in the King

of France's Library, and Memoirs preferved in the Cabinets of some of the chief Families of the Kingdom. But when the World took the Pains to enquire into what this boafting Scribler boldly advances, they foon discover'd his Books were only Romances, wrote with fomething of Eafiness. And when they pres'd him to name his Authorities, he could only produce some exploded Writers, Manuscripts so confus'd, that no one could find out the Truth, and Memoirs fo fecret, that the Persons who own'd them would not be named. For my part I will not diffemble, I have not yet procured any of those rare and curious Memoirs. After the Example of Titus Livy and Tacitus, who compiled their Histories out of the Works of those who writ before them, I have carefully collected the best Things I could find in the Country where I refide, and have compos'd out of them a continued History of the Reign of Lewis XIII. in the most uleful and instructive manner I was able.

I have taken that part of the Annals of Tacitus, which yet remains for my Model; not for the Stile, or that mysterious Air which he affects in every thing he speaks of, but in the Design and Plan of the Work. It is plain, the principal End Tacitus had in view, was to shew by what Means and Degrees Tyranny was entirely established in Rome after the Death

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of Augustus: And my chief Aim is to thew the Practices after the Death of Hen-"IV to deftroy the little remaining Li berry of France, to oppress the Clergy. the Nobility, and People; in thort, to lay the Poundations of an enormous Power, which has firnck a Terrour into all Europe in our Days. Perhaps fome will reproach me, that if I want the Scrength and the Sententions Stile of Taeitue, at least I have imitated his Malignity. Some charge him with giving an ill Toen to all the Actions of those he speaks of, and finding no Virtue and Probity any where. But not to fay how finall the number of the Good is, when a Man is obliged to bring on the Stage ambitions Men, who facrifice all to their Rife, and Fortunes : Bale and flatteri Courtiers who make no Scruple of betray ing their Religion and Country; Can he give these actors the Part of an bones Man ? All that can be reasonably required of an Historian is, that Men being rarely entirely corrupt and wicked, he should nor conceal what is good and commendable, where he finds it in the worft.

Polybius, L.

Mon, Polybius judiciously tematks, be must not have regard to what may please the Buenies of him whom he speaks of. The Rules of Truth and Decency must be inviolably hept. Those who are led by their Passions or Malice, are imprudent and rash in their Relations and Judgments. Polybius had

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had good Residento oblamo estambilità rian, who had not liquity daingh in what was good in destinated the Tra Syracule. If this blow, says in white his Employment was its flower a Rocker book bow to make himfelf King of Bicily and bor do make skinglif King officily is and could emberale this Rosens Republiched Conthage, land shi sine she penegruh. Penighac state had say and che demake the had acquired its some one desired but had say a facilities without the horizontal acquired to have desired any of about the penight of the horizontal acquired to the facilities side had say and additioning with a limit of the facilities and facilities had been been been a facilities and facilities and facilities and facilities and facilities and the had been been been a facilities and facilities a count report softhous Horror a Project without continue of all Engage to his Assistions of St. Garman, and the violent flowerings of St. Garman, and the Faction of May de Medicie, I will d feribe with pleasure what is Good and Valuable in the Gress Politician.

There is a Thing in which I would imitate Firm Livy, and Tacinus, and that is Brevity. The first employs but Ten Books in relating what passed dimarkable in the Roman Commonwealth for Several Ages; and the other has bringle into out small Volume the Reigns of Tilmins, Galigula, Claudius, and Nora. But I believe it

is impossible to be fo fort : The Reason presents it self to every Man's view. The Roman Religion did not occasion any Difputes; it did not cause Schisms and different Sects: Their Divinity had no Connexion with Political Matters. It is not fo with Christianity: There are great Disputes in this: It has always been divided into different Communions : Prince interest themselves, and take a part in the Quarrels of Divines. Since the Popes have fetled their Monarchy in the Weftern World, the Court of Rome concerns her felf in every thing. So that Matters of Religion, Controversies of Divinity, the Interefts and Pretentions of Popes, Bishops, and the Clergy, the Cabals of Monks, and divers other Matters, which only regard the Church, confiderably Swell an History The good Bathers the Jesuits, have been at the bottom of every thing fince the Rife of the Society. The Relation of their endles Intrigues, Enterprizes and Quarrels, is Work enough to employ an Historian.

Add to this, that in the Days of the Romans Things were in another Posture than they are at present. There were not so many Treaties with neighbouring Nations, so many Intrigues in the Senate, among the People, and in the Court of the Emperors. The Romans made War to extend their Territories; they had a small number of Allies, whom they protected against the Powers that threatned

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them. All Intrigues terminate in gaining the People by Donatives, or promiting to procure them a Dividend of Lands, or to obtain for them a greater Share in the Government. The time of the greatest . Intrigues in the Roman Commonwealth doubtless was that of the two Triumvirates. We have not a very exact History of this; but it is plain, all was transacted between fom few Persons who had the Address to procure the Command of Armies in the remote Provinces. Others fell in with the prevailing Parry, led by Ambition or Avarice. That which Tacitus calls the Great Secret of Government, in the time of the Emperors, was to be Mafters of the Legions. He who had Interest or Money enough to procure them to revolt, was foon proclaimed Emperor. After this he had nothing more to do, but to bear out the old Possessor, or a Competitor. The Victor became lawful Sovereign, and the Vanquish'd was declared an Usurper. In an Absolute and Tyrannical Government, all things are ruled at the Pleasure of the Prince. The Favourite and the Mistress have their Share in the Authority. When these are once established, the Dagger, Poison, False Informations, and Violence, are the Means they make use of to rid themselves of their Enemies, and preserve their Power. Thus every thing was managed under the Successors of Augustus.

PREFACE.

The Hittory of fuch a State as I repre-fent the Commonwealth and Empire of Rome, cannot be very large. But the Af-fairs of all Christian Princes have so great a Relation to each other, they make so many Leagues and Alliances together; fome for their own Greatness; others to defend themselves from their ambitious Neighbours, that it is impossible to write the Hiftory of Germany, France, Spain, or England, without speaking at the same rime of what passes in the rest of Europe. If two Petry Princes have any Différence, one implores the Protection of the House of Austria, and the other throws himself Crowns commence a War, some of these declare for Spain, others for France, in The Powers who have the smallest Inrerest are at last obliged to fide with one Parry; or at least to arm to keep the Balance even, and prevent the Conqueror from advancing his Power too much, by trigats of each Court; the Interests and Morion of Great Men in a State, where feeled, cannot be fo fuccincily related. Those Illutrious Historians, who shall write the present Reign in France, will be obliged, if I guels aright, to enlarge Minority of Lewis XIV. than on what has happen'd fince the Peace of the Pyremees.

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renees. The Defigns and Advances of the Prince of Conde, the Cardinal Mere rin, and some Court Ladies, in the Par-lements and Provinces, will fill a greater Space than the Events fince) the Death of Philip IV. King of Spain. Since Lawis XIV. has obtained what Richlies and A zarin had propoled, and opened the way. to every thing is disposed of by one or two Ministers, a Mistress, or a certain La-What Character this Great Woman ought to have, Time perhaps will inform Lords, and Parlements, all keep the Respect and Silence. All Wars, Allianors, and great Affairs are resolved on with the Mini-sters, Mistrels, or the Lady. None can be preferred, or obtain any Employ or Hosour, but throughous of their Channels. There are no knowy difficult Treaties abroad fivery thing is done by the Rower of Manney or Threats. It is the King's Pleasure is should be so. This is the Antiwer with which his Majetty's Ministers often pay those of Foreign Sovereigns as well as should be so foreign sovereigns as well as should be something the source of th Mafter's Subjects

Things were not to under the Reign of his Father, May do Medicis imputiestly endured the excelling Rower of a Revenite on a Minister. The Kings Rember was not always up a Patient blood was weak, a younger Brother of his blood would not inhunity to group to a Continual Some of the greatest and wealthirst blee

PREFACE

of the Kingdom hew'd great Vigour and Courage on divers Occasions. The Re form'd did not tamely fuffer themselves t be oppress'd without making any Opposition. The Court was forced to kee Measures with them, after they were Ma fters of their Cautionary Towns. Th Monarchy of Spain was not at that time for formidable abroad. But the Emperou Ferdinand II. began to grow fo Poten in Germany, that it was apprehended he would entirely subdue it. There was a necessity to make Alliances with the King of Sweden, the United Provinces, all the Protestant Princes, and those of Transplvania, which created Trouble enough to the House of Austria. The Affair of Meneus caused extraordinary Motions be-youd the Alps. There was a Necessity to affift the Duke, to preferve a Succeffion, which could not rightfully be conteffed. France began a Treaty and join'd with the Princes and States of Italy, alarm'd at the new Projects of the House of Austria. At length the Revolutions which happen'd in Porsugal and Catalonia, gave occasion to several Projects and Treaties on the part of Spain. For these Reasons no one can write the History of Lewis XIII. without entring into the Particulars of what happened all over Europe. These are the Reasons why I have thought fit to proceed a little higher in some places of the first Part in the Affairs of Foreign Countries. Guftavus Adelphus, for inftance,

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hance, must make so great a Figure in this Work, that it was almost indispensable to epresent how this Hero came to the Crown, to the prejudice of Sigisfinual King of Poland, Son to his Father's elder Brother. None can well understand the Affairs of the Empire under Fordinand IL insels he understand what passed about the end of Rodolphus, and under the Reign of Matthias.

I have not a good Opinion enough of my felf to think my Style fuch as Lucien equires for an History. Some of my friends have told me, that the beginning of a pretty large Work would endure eading. This is enough for me. The hief Business of a Writer, is to profit he Publick, by discovering the Truth or Probability. For after all, in History we nust often be content with the latter. The Principal Facts are certain ; but in he Reasons Morives, and Circumfrances of in Action or Enterprize, there are ever ome Grounds of doubting; and we must only follicitous for the most effectial Qualita. IL de iries of an Historian Non to dore to all Or sance what he knows to be falle, as peak freely what he knows to be true, with

the being byaffed by Prejudice. Lucien Different on this Subject very judicionally, fays, the man that we must not imprate the Paintier, pay, who invented the drawing Side-Pages to conceal the Defect of a Prince who had out one Eye. The Historian engle to paint Perfons

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Country binder birm from velacing the Loffel for bar suffusioned, or the Paulis for has committed in Historian is like an Affinition of shem are necessionable for the bar profer Truth to his Inspect and Paffinh This a the only Divinity be flouted adore. He must ever have the Judgment of Posterity in his sight, if he would pass more for an Historian than a Flattering B. 2019 7811.

Tris reported Alexander defired to revive for a little time after his Death. He would have been pleafed to fee what Men would then fay of a Prince who had made fuch a noile in the World. I do not wonder, faid the raffind overy one praise me mon Some are afraid of me; others court my fuder. If Princes judged as reasonably as the Conquered to whom they fo much low to bear themselves compared, they would not be at the trouble to here Writer, or case Trinsiphal Arches and Scartley to be credited to be affected to be confected to a series of the Beels, at the Lestefall of their Survet, or Over a Triumphal Arch, or the Gates of a Con-Gapinal or other conquered Places. Con-tented with well governing their People. and making them suppy, they would leave to them the Gare of munoralizing chair Booksaller after his Death. What Service wrote by Command. or the

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Author ought to judge of things without respect to Persons, speaking of these as the Subject requires. For my part, I so little sear being Censured for the Fault, Frenchmen are usually reproached with, of being fond of their own Nation, that I do not know whether I ought not to justifie my self here to my Countrymen, for not speaking through the whole Series of this Work, very Advantageously of France and its Government. They would not do me Justice, if they thought I was fallen out with my Native Land, and this

had introduced me to leave it.

I am a Frenchman, and I think it an Honour to be fo; but I am not fo partialto my Country; as to think it far Superior to any other. There is good Sense, Merit and Virtue to be found in all places. If some Nations have more Vivacity and Politeness than others, these Advantages are not fo confiderable, that they should set themselves far above their Neighbours. Those People which some l'erfons look on as heavy, have often more good Senfe, Solidity, and Plaindealing, than others that value themselves on their good Taft, Sharpness and Wit. The one without Dispute, is infallibly more valuable than the other. My Native Country is very dear to me, and I take pleafure in professing it. But I love it as an honest Man ought to do. To wish well to a Mans Countrymen, to pray God they may want norhing which can make them

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compleatly happy in this World, or the next, is in my Opinion, to have a true and fincere Love for a Mans Country. And I can protest, God be praised, I have such a Disposition of Mind. St. Paul wished, all his Auditors might become as he was, except in bis Bonds. I pray in the same manner, for all Frenchmen. May Heaven grant they all become like me, except being almost under a necessity to leave their Native Country, to follow the Light of their Conscience. If I am bound to France by that grateful Sense which a Reasonable Man ought to have for a Civil Society, where God has given him Birth; this do's not hinder me from thinking my felf united to other Nations, by the Ties of Religion and Humanity. France may be Happy and Flourishing, without disturbing its Neighbors, or unjustly Usurping anothers Right. Because I am of a Nation, must I desire to see her Mistress of Europe? Must I applaud the boundless Ambition of the Prince who governs her? Must I praise my Countrymen for working Fetters and Chains to bind themselves withal? Natural Justice requires me to contribute all I can, to the Prosperity and Repose of my Native Land, and that I should defend it when unjustly arracked. But I am bound by the same Laws of Nature, to prevent my Countrymen from deftroying, and doing Mischief to others. Very far from extolling their Ignominous Slavery, and

Criminal Enterprizes, Reason and Religion require me to Condemn, and Oppose them to the utmost of my Power.

By a strange Inversion of Language and Reason, a Man in France is said to be well affected to the Government, when he shews I know not what ridiculous Zeal for the Power of the King. Is the King, then the whole State? These two things are very different. The State fignifies a certain number of Men Affociated, and living under the same Laws. The King is the Person who has the Charge of Supporting them, and providing for the Wellfare of the People. In what do's the Happiness of a Nation consist? That she is only obliged to obey Laws confirmed by a long Use, or made in such manner, as was agreed on by the People in their first Confederacy, or in the Assemblies held after; in the Safe and Unmolefted enjoyment of their Estates, and the Fruits of their Industry, without having these taken away from them by Force; in Taxes and Publick Duties being so equally Levyed, that no Man pay more than he conveniently can. To love the Government or ones Country, is ardently to wish it all the Advantages which a Man would give his Life to procure, when they are wanting, or to preserve them, when she has the good fortune to enjoy them. In this Sense it is pleasant and Honorable, for a Man to die for his Country.

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To love, as it is call'd in France, the Power and Glory of the King, is to labour for the Establishing Tyranny. Since the Principles and Detestable Policy of Machiavel, have been brought into Europe, a Prince thinks himself Glorious and Potent, if he has found a way to become Absolute Master of the Lives and Estates of his People, and securely make himself Great, at the Expence of his Neighbours. If this be not true Tyranny, all Men in the World are deceived. What do they understand by the word Tyranny? The Government of those,

who only propose their own Profit.

Why should I Diffemble? The love I have for my Country, gives me an extream Aversion for these Politicks pernicious to Mankind. I cannot value those: who pursue these Maxims, whatever good Qualities they have, or however eminent their Rank in the World be. Let some Persons born to Slavery, if they please, rail at me as a Seditious Author. This is the Language now for those who still preserve Love for Liberty, in a Country where it is almost Extinguished. I am not in any pain about it. A Learned Man Condemned the History of the Famous Mr. de Thou, because it is writ, said he, with a Liberty which do's not suit with the Age. I have not the Presumption to compare my felf with that Great Man. He was infinitely above me by his Birth, and Rank; and yet more by his Sublime

Genius .

Genius and Universal Knowledge. The Love of Truth, is the only thing in which I think I may imitate him; I will dare to say, in which I strive to surpass him. His Character, his Employs, his Relation to the Court, have obliged him to some Management, which I may lawfully dispense with. If his Liberty did not agree with his Time, mine will seem less proper for ours. But let the World speak as it pleases, I will follow the Example of this Great Man, who despised Mean-spirited Censors. We are not less free than the Men of former times, why should we not

speak the Truth as well as they?

There is nothing remains now, but for me to give a Reason, why in publishing this History, I have not waited till it was entirely finished. A great Book frightens the World. The Reign of Lewis XIII. has certain Remarkable Periods, the Majority of the King, the Removal of the Queen Mother, the Ministry of Cardinal Richelieu, the taking of Rochell, the Foreign War. The Reader may Repose himself at each of these Periods, where there is a confiderable change of Affairs. For this Reason, I have divided this Work into different Parts, perhaps the Reader will not be Displeased, to have them one after the other. The Judgment which the Publick makes of the first, may fer me right, and be of use in the following ones. Those who will favour me with the Communication of any Memoirs,

may adress them if they please to the Bookfeller. They will be thankfully received,
and made use of with the Discretion they
can reasonably expect, whether they desire
to have the Honour of them, or will not
be known. I shall only desire they will
not take it amiss, that every thing be duly examined, nor expect we should engage our selves to praise or blame, what
do's deserve neither.

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BOOK V.

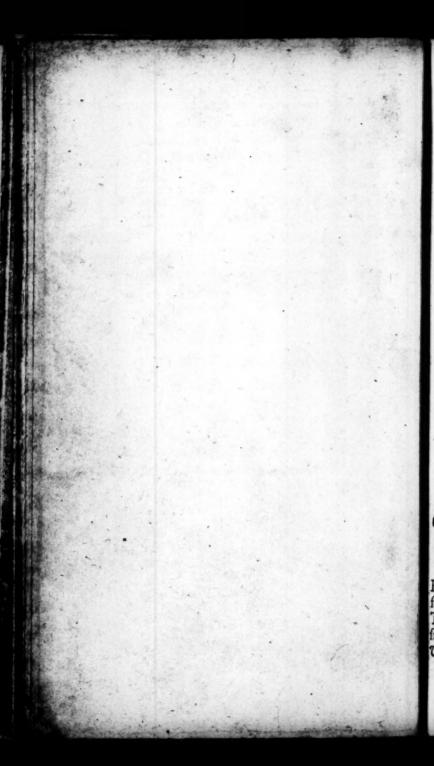
A New Party form'd at Court by the Ma-rechal of Bouillon. Artifices of the Duke of Savoy to raise a Civil War in France. Different Measures propos'd to the Council of Franco, for dispersing the Prince of Conde's Faction. The Regent's Circular Letter upon the Retreat of the Prince of Conde, and some Lords of his Faction. The Duke of Nevers Seizes the Citadel of Mezieres in Champagne: The Prince of Conde writes a Letter to the Regent in form of a Manifesto. The Weakness of the Parlement of Paris on this Occasion. Reflections on the Answer the Cardinal of Perron made the Prince of Conde. The Reply of Mary de Medicis to the Prince of Conde. Mary de Medicis raises Six Thousand Swiffes: Baffompierre is made Colonel Gcneral of the Swiffes in the Duke of Rohan's Place. The Conduct of the Reformed in France in the Prince of Conde's Business. The Wisdom of Du Plessis. The Prince of Conde folicits the Reformed. The wife Reply of du Pleffis Mornay to the Regent and. the Prince of Conde. The Duke of Rohan feems to hear the Prince of Conde's Propositions. The Duke of Vendome's Evasion. He writes into Britany. The Death of the Constable of Montmorency. The Duke of Savoy shuns meeting the Marquess de Cœu-

vres,

vres, Ambassador from France into Italy. The Jealousie of the Princes and States of Italy, occasioned by the Correspondence of the Two Crowns, about the Affairs of that Country. The Spaniards secretly traverse the Treaty carried on by the Marquess de Cœuvres. The Cardinal-Duke of Mantua accepts the Conditions proposed by the Marquiss de Cœuvres. The Duke of Savoy Jeems likewise to accept them. Troops are raised at Turin. The Treaty of the Duke of Ventadour and the other Commissioners of the King with the Prince of Conde, and those of his Party. The Prince retires to Soissons, and goes into Champagne. A Division in the Regent's Council on the Demands which the Prince of Conde and the Malecontents make, with respect to their private Interests. Intrigues of the Marshal of Ancre to divert the Regent from making War on the Prince of Conde. The Pope's Nuncio's reasoning on the Resolution taken to make Peace with the Prince of Conde. An Examen of the Political Reflexion of a Venetian Author of the Treaty made with the Prince of Conde. A Treaty concluded at St. Menehoud between the Regent and the Prince of Conde. The Sentiments of the Parlement of Paris against a Book of Suarez the Jesuit. Paul V. complains of the Proceedings of Parlement against Suarez's Book. A Discourse of the Pope to the French Ambassador upon the Parlements Sentence. The Conduct of the Court of France to Sasisfie the Pope. The Jesuits stir to have

the Parlement's Sentence burnt. The King's Declaration in his Council concerning the Parlement's Sentence. The Pope will not be Satisfied with the King's Declaration. The King at last is obliged to suspend the Execution of the Parlements Sentence. Differences in the Court of France. The Duke of Vendome refuses to accept the Treaty of Menehoud. The Ability and Prudence of du Plessis Mornay. Mary de Medicis sends the Marquiss de Cœuvres to the Duke of Vendome to dispose bim to an Accommodation. A new Disturbance of the Prince of Conde. An Interview of the Prince of Conde and the Duke of Rohan. The Prince of Conde thinks to make himself Master of Poitiers. A great Tumult at Poitiers. The Gates of the City are fout against the Prince. He retreats to Chateouroux in Berry. A Remonstrance of du Plessis Mornay to the Regent. The King and Queen Mother go to Poitiers. The Queen goes to Nants in Brettany to hold a Meeting of the States. The Prince of Conti's Death. New Differences between the Princes of Brandenburgh and Newburgh, about the Administration of the Countries of Cleves and Juliers. The Town of Aix la Chapelle is put under the Ban of the Empire. The Marquess of Spinola reduces the Town of Aix la Chapelle, and seizes divers Places in the Countries of Cleves and Juliers. Maurice Prince of Orange takes divers Places in the same Country. A Conference at Santheim about the Succession

of Cleves and Juliers. The Duke of Savoy is more embroyl'd with Spain than ever. He seeks to gain the Venetians into his Interests. The Marquis of Rambouillet is sent Ambassador Extraordinary into Italy. An open War between Spain and Savoy. Several Things writ on both sides. The Pope's Nuncio and French Ambassador labour for an Accommodation between them. The Duke of Savoy accepts the Conditions proposed, and Spain resuses them. The King of Spain is not satisfied with the Governour of Milan's Condust. The Majority of Lewis XIII. His sirst Ast. Sits in his Seat of Justice. Education of Lewis XIII.



THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF

LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Navarre.

BOOK I.

HE Reign, whose History I am about to write, abounds in the Work.

Great Events. Here is a Scene of Civil and Foreign Wars,

Bloody Battles, Towns attack'd and defended with great Conduct and Courage;

The Protestants oppress'd in France, and supported in Hungary, Germany, and the United Provinces; The Nobility, Clergy,

Parlements and People reduced to Slave-A King unable to extricate himfelf from those Difficulties in which some were still busie to involve him, leaves the Care of Affairs to his Favourites and Ministers. Alike averse to his Mother, his Wife, his Brother; he treats the one ill, and obliges the rest to form Leagues at Home and Abroad and at last to throw themselves into the Hands of the ancient Enemies of France. The Princes of the Blood, and the Great Lords difgusted, sometimes at the ill Administration of a Regent, at other times with the excellive Power of a Favourite or Minister, rise under the specious Pretence of a Concern for the Publick Good. The Protestants driven to Extremity by the frequent Infractions of the most inviolable Edict that ever was, at last take Arms to defend the Liberty of their Consciences, and preserve those Securities which had been to justly granted them in the preceding Reign.

The Enterprizes of the House of Austria on the Princes of Italy, force them to have recourse to the Protection of France, and make an Alliance with her. These Sovereigns, jealous of their Repute and Liberry, ice, without concern, the Dake of Savoy give up to the King of France a Place which opens a way into Italy, whenever he shall think fit to send any Aid thither. A great Conqueror coming dec from the Extremnies of the North to defend those of his Religion in Germany, o-

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verthrows the ambitious Projects of the Courts of Vienna and Madrid. The Emperor trembles, and fears to lofe his Hereditary Countries; and France, by the help of a League opportunely made with Sweden, forces from the House of Austria part of her ancient Patrimony. The Succels of the Spanish Arms in Picardy strikes Terrour into Paris it self. The King of France comes out of his Capital to repulse the Enemy, and cannot refrain from Tears to see the Fire advanced so near the Gates of his own Palaces. The Revoluions on the other fide the Pyrences change he Face of Affairs. Catalonia surrenders o Lewis XIII. and Portugal drives out he Spaniards, and replaces the Duke of Braganza on the Throne of his Ancestors.

Still the IV. in a Consternation leaves

Mudeid to secure the Consternation ladrid to secure the Country of Arragon, nd reduce the Catalonians. But no foondoes he begin this Expedition, but he ceives the unwelcome News, 4rance had seized the Town of Perpiga m an and the County of Roufillon. of er.

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In this Variety of Events there may be and many eminent Instances of Virtue d Vice, Treachery richly rewarded, e highest Posts of Honour obtained by e most infamous Crimes, some few beowed on Merit, great Preferments reded with Contempt, from Motives of
eligion and Probity. Some great Lords
eanly ransom their Lives and Estates by
coming Slaves to an Ambitious and Re-

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vengeful Cardinal: Others threatned to be made a Sacrifice to his Passions and Interest, with a Noble Haughtiness continue faithful to their Friends, and fuffer Death with an Heroick Courage.

This Fragment of the Modern Hiftory of France, which I defign to illustrate, is fo curious and full of Variety, it would foon tempt a Man who would employ his Time in writing something Diverting and Instructive. However the boldness of the Attempt has often awed me, and perhaps it is above my Abilities. If I praise the principal Actors who appear upon the Stage, I am in danger of being cenfured for Flattery; and if I speak too freely, I am fure to be charged with Detra-Ction. Constant Panegyrick disgusts and incenses most Readers. They love to have the Vices and secret Passions of Men laid open. This Air of Freedom pleases and di verts them. But if I should indulge this natural Inclination we have to hea others condemned, will not the Worl too fay I am making a Satyr, and not wi ting a History?

I shall endeavour then to avoid the two Extremes with all possible Care. have no Inducement to praise or blan Perions who were almost all dead before I came into the World. What particul Reason can I have to love or hate them his The difference of Opinion in Matters the Religion and Government shall not hind Phi me from doing Justice to Merit, or co

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mending what is worthy of Praile. Iam, thanks to God, in a Country where every one enjoys a Happinels, which is fo rare in this World, to speak their reasonable Thoughes with freedom. If I am not in a Capacity to do my Country Service, I have the Liberty to deplore its Miffortunes.

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Before I enter upon the Matter, I shall The State of premise some few Things of Henry the Furope and Fourth, and the End of his Life. Its ne- at the end of ceffary to know the Posture of Affairs in the Reign of Europe and France, when this latter loft Henry IV. one of the greatest Monarchs she ever had. He employ'd the first Years of his Reign in reducing by force of Arms, or gaining by Treaties, all who had formed a potent League against him, under Colour of Religion, and in carrying on a War against Philip II. King of Spain. Ambirious Monarch had Supported the League with a mighty Affistance of Men and Money, out of a Defign to place a hea Prince of his House on the Throne of France, or at least to dismember that Mowit narchy, whose Power was an invincible Obstacle to the vast Projects he had conceived. But finding himself worn out with Infirmities of Body, and feeing his Country quite exhausted by the Immense of Sums he expended, and the great number icul of Soldiers and Ships which he lost in her his Wars against the United Provinces of the Low Countries, England, and France. him Philip, I say, after so many Men, and so when the countries is the Low Countries is the Low Countries of the L much

much Treasure consumed in vain, was glad to make Peace With Henry on such Conditions as the State of France, not less exhausted than Spain, could not give

them leave to hope for.

Elizabeth Queen of England, and the States of the United Provinces made loud Complaints, that the King abandoned his good and fa th'ul Allies in preding to cagerly the Conclusion of the Treaty with Tin, fay they, is a fine way to Philip. lose the favourable Opportunity of taking those Advantages against Spain, which its low and declining Condition must have put in our Hands. Henry excused this Proceeding of his as well as he could, alledging the Incapacity of his Kingdom to Support a Foreign War, after it had been fo miserably harass'd by a Domestick one, which had lafted so many Years, and was not yet well extinguished. The Reafon was specious: But the King seemed impatient to give himself up to his Pleafures, and with ease to enjoy so fair a Succession, which he had purchased with fo much Hazard and Trouble.

It must be own'd Henry had good Reafon to distrust his Strength for the suture. The Duke of Mercaur, penned up in Britany, would not have made his Peace, if he had not believ'd that of Spain entirely resolv'd on. Besides, the Protestans of France, who had served a King bred up amongst them, with so much Courage and Constancy, took Umbrage and Jealour as

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fie. His changing his Religion and the Favours, with which he purchased the friendship of the Great Men, who had been Leagued against him, began to Alarm them; and his New Engagements to the Court of Rome, their cruel and implacable Enemy, had like to have cool'd them. Henry prudently confirmed his best Subjects by the Edict of Nantes, which was concerted with great Industry and Deliberation. Happy had they been, if the Successors of this good Prince, had left them peaceably to enjoy what he so justly granted them.

No fooner was Peace fetled at home and abroad, but Henry strove to win the Hearts of his Subjects, by publishing he would labour incessantly to make them live in Ease and Plenty. Several Manufactures were set up, and some certain Duties taken off: It is probable the great Debts he contracted, and the engagement of a great part of his Revenue, would not give him leave to take away divers others very burthenfom, and made him give ear to all Projects, for bringing Money into his own Coffers. But in all this he had the Address to prevent, and stifle all Murmurs by making the French Nation fince for a long time accustomed to patience, believe his greatest desire was to make them happy. The King flattered himfelf, he should check the turbulent humour of divers great Men, and perhaps by degrees, ruin them by engaging them after his

his Example, to make excessive expences in Buildings, Play, and other more Criminal Pleasures. In this he found his Account in a double manner. It was his natural Inclination, though he was a Manager good enough; and those who could embroil the State, would be drained of Money and Credit, and forced to depend

on the bounty of their Prince.

This did not succeed in all points, as he had projected it. If the Constable of Montmorency, the Dukes of Montpensier, and Epernon, the Mareschals of Bouillon and Biron did not proceed fo far, as to take Arms to express their Resentment; some because they were not Rewarded according to their mind, others because some Ministers Confidents of the King, had a greater share in secret Councils than themselves: Yet these I ords created him great Disquiet. The just punishment of Biron, the most imprudent and violent of all the Malecontents and the Submiffions of the Mareschal de Bouillon, Defeated the Conspiracy which Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, had laid in his Journey to Paris, and Philip the III. the New King of Spain, had promised to Support. That of the Marquise de Vernueil, a Miftress of the King, who had foolishly promised to make her his Wife, before he was married to Mary de Medicis, was likely to have had terrible Consequences; but was fortunately broke by the Condemnation of d'Entragues, Father of the Marchionels; and the Imprisonment of the Count

Count d'Auvergue, her Brother by the Mothers side, and Natural Son to Charles the IX.

The King complained, the Court of Spain promised Aid to all his Factious Subjects. He shew'd his Resentment publickly, when he discovered an Intrigue of the Spanish Ambassador, with a Gentleman of Provence, who undertook to deliver up the Town of Marseilles to Philip the III. Two Rival Powers have ever matter to Recriminate, when the one thinks he can convict the other of a fecret Infraction of Treaties. The Ambassadour without scruple Reproached the King, with affifting the United Provinces after the Peace of Vervins, and endeavouring to raise the Moors in Spain. In some occasions Henry was not more upright and fincere, than Philip. Princes feldom concern themselves much about so fair a Vertue: No sooner had the King of France setled his Affairs, and amassed several Millions, by the Care and Management of the Duke of Sully, Superintendent of the Finances, but he began to think in earnest, of Humbling the Pride of the House of Austria. This was the Language of those times : the World is busi'd at present in Leagues to oppose the Ambitious Designs of France.

Henry waiting only for a Specious Pretence to make War on Spain, renewed his ancient Alliances abroad, and carried on Negotiations with diverse Princes, to bring them over to his Interests. By the Trea-

ty of Marriage between the Infanta Isabella, and Arch-Duke Albert, Philip the II. had given his dear Daughter the Soveraignty of the Provinces, which Spain had at that time in the low Countries. Catherine Sister of Isabel, brought Charles Emmanuel Duke of Savoy, her Husband. but a very moderate Fortune. So unequal a Division, did not satisfie the Ambition of a Prince, who was always stirring to make himself Great, though he could never obtain his Aim. thought the Dutchy of Milan ought in Right to be given up to him; Henry feeks to take the Advantage of Discontent of the Duke: A Proposition is made, to Assist the Duke in the Conquest of a Country, which lay so convenient for him; and to give the Kings Eldest Daughter in Marriage to his Son. On these Conditions, Charles voluntarily makes a League Offensive and Defensive with France.

Some pretendall the Powers of Europe were engaged in it, or at least ought to have been, to confine the House of Aufiria to Spain, and its Hereditary Countries in Germany; but the Project which is ascribed to Henry on this occasion, is strangely Chimerical. If it be true, that this King ever entertained a thought of that kind, and proposed no other end in so vast Enterprize, than the glory of having brought Europe to a Balance; Henry doubtless was the vainest Man in his Kingdom: Is it not much more probable, that

that seeing so favourable an occasion to revenge himself on Spain, he was resolved

to make his advantage of it.

The Declention of that Monarchy, was visible to all the World. Philip the III. a Prince Inferiour to his Father for his Parts; found it in fo ill a condition, that being unable to supply Arch-Duke Albert with Provisions necessary for carrying on the War against the United Provinces, he was conftrained to make a shameful Truce with the States-General; in which he owns them to be free, and Disclaims any Pretention of his own, or the Arch-Dukes over them. We must not think Spain wanted good Generals, brave Officers, or States-Men bred in the Cabinet of Philip II. but the Duke of Lerma her first Minister, had neither Genius nor Ability to gain his Master Reputation abroad, or govern a Monarchy opprest with its own Greatness.

The House of Austria was still weaker in Germany. The Emperour Redolphus had no great Vices, but the Vertues which make up the chief Character of a Prince, were wanting in him. Shut up in his City of Prague, he employed himself in any thing, rather than Politicks. Had he had good Ministers, he would not have hindred them from acting well. But he had so little care to chuie them, or observe their steps that himself did not know, whether he was well or ill served. Rodalphus did not live in good understanding

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with his Brethren. The Arch-Duke Matthias, forced him to give up the Kingdom of Hungary to him, and secure to him the Succession to the Crown of Bohemia. Both unable to keep their Subjects of different Religion in Peace, were obliged to receive the Conditions which the stronger

Party imposed on them.

England is so seated, it ought equally to fear least Spain or France become too Potent. James the First succeeded to Queen Elizabeth, a Princess whose Memory is still dear to the English; for her great Courage, her matchless Prudence, and her fincere Love to her People. Crowns strove which should make an Alliance with the New King. They believed that being more Potent than his-Predeceffors, by the Union of the Crown of Scotland, to that of England; he would be more able to hold the balance even, or make it incline to which fide he pleafed. But Fames still fearful and wavering, governed by his Wife or his Favourites, soon shewed the World, he was fitter to manage the Pen, than the Sword; to write on a Question of Civil Law or Divinity, than to Reign gloriously and make himself formidable to his Neighbours. He made a Treaty of Alliance with Henry. Both Kings engaged to affift the United Provinces, and to defend each other in case either of them was attacked by the Spaniards. The Court of Madrid exasperated to find the King of Great Britain, take

to a contrary Interest; possibly underhand countenanced the discontented Party, and the Papists in England, formed that Horrible Attempt, which has since been call'd the Gunpowder Plot. Since that time, James ever dreaded the Spaniards. And they were so Skillful to improve this weaknels of his, and Avarice of his Ministers, that far from opposing the Enterprizes of the House of Austria, you will find he will patiently suffer her to disposses the Elector Palatine, who married a Daughter of England.

In this posture were the Affairs of Eu-Henry IV. rope, when Henry found a plausible Pre- preparas tence to raife Troops, and bring them tothe Frontiers of Champagne. John William, Duke of Cleves, Bergh and Juliers dying without Children, left a contended Succession. His four Sisters or their Children, had each different Pretenfions; some Imperial Constitutions contrary to each other, embroil'd the Affair more. Some ofthese determined the Fees of the Contested Countries to be the right of the Heirs Male; and others supposed Daughters capable of the Succession. Among all the Princes who were pretenders, the Right of John Sigismund Elector of Brandenburgh, and that of Philip Lewis Palatin of Newburgh, were the most plausible. The first had married the Daughter of the Eldest Sister of the last Duke; and the other was Husband of the second Sister, who maintained, that the Succession was devolved on her, to the prejudice of the. Children

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Children of her Eldest Sister Deceased, before Duke John William. These two Princes each took possession of a part of those Estates they pretended did entirely belong to them; But it was to be feared, a third stronger than both of them, would make himself Master of the best places, while they made War to drive each other out: Therefore the Landgrave of Hefs, their common Friend, made them confent to a Provisional Treaty. In this they promised to terminate their Differences Amicably, and by Arbitration; and to joyn their Forces against any who should Attempt to usurp the Countries of Cleves and Juliers. Till this should be decided. it was agreed they should govern Individually, and in common; and without prejudice to the right of the Emperor, or the other Princes pretenders. States of the Country Affembled at Duffeldors, took this Affair into their Cognizance at the Intreaty of the King of France, who already declared for the two Princes.

They were both Protestants, and the United Provinces supported them as far as they were able. This gave Umbrage to the Arch-Dukes of the low Countries, whose Estates bordered on one side, on those of Juliers. A certain Prince of their House in Germany, would have been glad to have made his Advantage in this Litigious Title. The pretence of Religion is never wanting upon occasion; and here

it would have been very seasonable. The Governour of Juliers then is won over, and Leopold of Austria, Bistop of Strasbourg and Passaw, passes secretly into the place. He brought with him a Commission from the Emperour, who pretended to be the Natural and Soveraign Judge of a Difference arising about the Fiess of the Empire; and in the mean time, he gave to his Cousin Leopold, the Admini-

stration of the contested places.

This Sequestration, seem'd to tend to an Usurpation. By the Addition of the Dutchies of Cleves and Juliers, to its other Hereditary Countries; the House of Austria was in a condition to oppress the German Liberties with more eafe. The Neighbourhood of the low Countries, gave the King of Spain an opportunity to fend his best Troops to the Affistance of his Kinsmen. This Enterprize ought to have alarmed equally all the Princes of Germany; but the Jealousie caused by difference of Religion, made the Duke of Bavaria, the Electours of Mentz, Triers, and some others, fear the Protestant Party would be too ftrong, if the disputed Countries should fall to a Prince of that Religion. See then the Catholicks afsemble at Wirtsbourg; and form there a League of which the Duke of Bavaria was Chief, and fend a Deputation to Rome and Midrid, to demand Aid of Pope Paul the V. and Philip King of Spain. On

On the other hand the Protestants come in great numbers to Hall in Swabia. The Electour and Princes of Saxony, do not appear there. Those of the branch of Weymar and Koburg, had their particular Pretentions to the Dutchies of Cleves and Juliers; and hoped the House of Austria would espouse their right sooner than that of other Princes, more jealous of her growing Greatnels. The Elector of Saxony contented himself to send to Hall, in conjunction with the King of Denmark, to exhort all the Pretenders to put their Interests, into the Emperours hand. The Resolutions taken in that Affembly were kept private. The Prince of Anhalt, whom those of Brandenburgh and Newburg, had defired to go on a Negotiation to the Court of France, returned to Hall, accompanied with Boiffife Ambassadour from the King. This Minister declared publickly, his Mafter would Affift them with all his Strength; and would march himfelf at the Head of a powerful Army, to oppose the Defigns of the House of Austria. The United Provinces too, promised to joyn their Troops with those of Henry. The Neighbourhood of the Contested Countries, made it unsafe for them to suffer them to fall into the hands of a Kinsman or Friend of Spain.

The mortal Displeasure the King of France had, to see the Arch-Dukes of the low Countries, and the King of Spain, receive the Prince of Conde with open

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Arms, who had fecretly withdrawn himfelf to Bruffels, with the Princess his Wife; and promise him all fort of Affistance against the Injustice done him by Henry. This Accident I say, hapning at the fame time with the Affair of Cleves and Fuliers, urged him more to a War, than the Noble defireho affift his Allies. Being Refolved to revenge the many Affronts he had received from Philip the II. and his Son; and to have the Princels of Conde back, what ever it cost him: Henry again sent Troops towards the Alps. Lesdiguieres, who from amean Birth and Fortune, hadraifed himfelf by degrees during the Wars in Dauphiny and Provence; and had obtained the staff of Mareschal of France. This Man was fent to conduct to the Duke of Savoy, the Troops designed against Italy, and to Attack the Milanese in Conjunction with him. Vast Preparations were made. These at first were covered with the ordinary pretence of the Publick Safety, the preferving the Repose of Europe; and the maintaining the Kings Allies in their rightful Poffession; but a Vile and Criminal Passion made them to encrease, and march with the greatest Expedition. Henry it was said had reason to fear, that his ancient Enemies abusing the easiness and refenement of the first Prince of the Blood, should excite an Ambition in him, and put it into his Head, to contest the Validity of the Marriage of the King with Mary de Medicis, after a Divorce founded on very frivolous

frivolous Reasons, and the I egitimacy of his Children by this second Wise; but to speak the Truth, the Absence of his Fair Angel, for so he call'd the Princess of Conte, lay nearer his Heart than any thing besides.

Momoires de Baffompierre.

No fooner did Henrietta Charlotte of Montmorency appear in the World, but the good King became Amorous to the last degree of Folly. The Conftable her Father, would have married her to Baffompierre, a Gentleman of Lorrain; who was well received at Court, and in great fayour with the King; but Henry broke of this Match when it was very far advanced. Bassompierre seemed too likely to engage the Affections of his Wife. Prince of Conde he thought would be a Husband less troublesom to a Lover. by giving him Diversion in Hunting; he flattered himself he should find time and means to deceive a Man, who was not fo discerning and jealous, as the other would have been: In a word, Henry who could not content himself with his own Wife, was willing as he freely faid to Baffompeierre, that his nearest Kinsman Bould be a Comfort and Support to him in his old Age, which he was now entering into.

The Flight of the Prince of Coade.

The Prince soon perceived the King was desperately in love with the Lady he had married. Henry's Passion appeared more clearly every day than other, he could not keep himself within the Rules

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of Decency. The new Husband could not contain himself any more. He complains, is transported, and throws off all Respect. To make him more complaifant and tractable, his Pensions are taken away. Notwithstanding his pressing Instances for the Money promiled in Marriage, he meers with nothing but denial. These Hardings served only to exasperate a young Min whom the Malecontents, and the private Enemies of the King, urged incessantly with Motives of Honour, and encreased his Jealouse, by representing the King was not Master of his Pasfion, and might be transported by it to fome Violence. So that in fine, the Prince of Conde determined to take his Wife with him, and retire into the Low Countries.

The News of their Flight was a Clap of Thunder to the Amorous Old Man. He immediately calls his Ministers, who were his chief Confidents, to concert Meafures with them in so nice a luncture. The Chancellour de Sillery tells him, with a great deal of Gravity, He ought to make Good and Firm Declarations against the Prince of Conde and all his Adherents. Could the flow Proceedings in a Court of Justice be a speedy and effectual Remedy for the Despair of a Lover, who thought himself the most unformate Man in the World when the Object of his Passion was separated from him? Villeroy, Secretary of State, was of Opinion, the King thould

should write to his Ambassadors in Foreign Courts, and order them to press the Princes not to receive Conde, who had withdrawn himself without the King's leave, and send him forthwith into France. The Counsel of Villeroy was not heard. This would have required a Negotiation with the Princes into whose Dominions Conde was sted. A delay of this kind did not agree with the Uneasiness and Impatience of Henry.

When the Duke of Sully was asked what his Opinion was ; I forefaw this Accident: said he to the King. If your Majesty would have followed the Advice I gave you some days since, and put Monsieur the Prince in the Bastile, I would have taken care to have kept him well. That's true, reply'd the King, but what must we do now? Nothing, faid Sully, after he had mused for a small time near the Window. A Fugitive Subject is soon abandoned by all the World, if his Master do not appear concerned to ruin him. If you shew the least eagerness to have Monsieur the Prince given up, your Enemies will take Pleasure to vex you, by receiving bim well, and aiding bim. Doubtless this was the best part he had to act; but Henry was too Amorous to take it.

The Counsel of the President Jeannin was more pleasing to him. He propos'd to send a Captain of the Guards after him to bring him back if he could seize him; otherwise, to send immediately to Brussels,

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where the Prince would not fail to shelter himself, and demand him of the Archduke and Dutchess, and to menace them with a War if they resused to restore him. Albert and Isabel, added Jeannin, have no Tye to Monsieur the Prince; and the King of Spain will not have time to write to them to keep him. What appearance is there that weak and timorous Persons will for so small a Matter, draw your Mijesty's Power on them?

Doubtless the Event would have been as Feannin had imagin'd, if the famous Ambrose Spinola had not been at that time with the Archdukes. Albert and Isabel, awed by the Menaces of a Warlike King, who had made great Preparations, would have complied with the Desires of Henry. But Spinola with vehemence represented to them; they could not in Humanity refuse a Retreat and Protection to a persecuted Prince, who asked no more than a Shelter for his Honour and Person against the Infults which he had reason to apprehend: That at least their Highnesses ought not to give a positive Answer, without first consulting the Catholick King in an Affair of that Importance. So in concert with the Court of Madrid, an Answer was given to those sent by Henry: That the Honour and inviolable Rights of Hospitality would not allow the Archdukes to restore the Prince without his own Consent into the Hands of the King: But their Highnesses would take

care he should not do any thing during his stay there against the Respect and O-

bedience due to his Sovereign.

So modest a Denial serv'd only to inflame the King's Anger, and make him more obstinate in his Demands of the Prince and Princess of Conde. He sent Orders every Day to repeat the Instances to the Archdukes. While he was arming powerfully in his Kingdom, the French, who were at Bruffels, took Measures to carry off the Princels, who gave ground to believe the was not very averle to it. The People ran to Arms to oppole this Violence. Conde at last resolv'd to retire to Milan: and the Infanta took the Princess into her own Palace. The Archdukes had promised not to give her up without the Consent of the Prince.

The Constable of Montmorency, follicited by the King, demanded his Daughter; and the nearest Kindred of the Princess wrote to Bruffels as well as he. They alledged, that all the Family would have the Marriage annull'd. The King had recourse to the Pope. He pressed him to interpose his Authority, that the Princess being set at liberty, might demand a Diffolution of it. She did not love her Husband, and the Bigotry of the Infanta, who watched her narrowly, was so contrary to the Humour of a young Person accustomed to the Pleafures of the Court of France, that she feemed not very averse to the Divorce her Kindred proposed to her, at least in ap-

pearance.

pearance. But all these Subtilties were The Archdukes, inflexible in their Word to the Prince, answer'd still to all the Instances and Menaces made them, That they would not restore the Princess without the Consent of her Husband, who had entrusted her with them. A very generous Refolution indeed ! But is there not ground to think their fecret Defire to excite some Commotions in France, to traverse the vast Projects of Henry, inspired them at least much as their love to Equity and Juffice ?

The great Preparations in France and Henry IV. other places, kept the World in suspense. prepares to None doubted the King had fome great- march at the er Defign than to drive Archduke Leo- Army. pold out of the Countries of Cleves and Juliers. In the mean time the House of Austria appeared Serene: It could not be observed that she made any Provisions against this approaching War, which openly threatned her; either because she expected that Stroke, which foon changed the State of Affairs; or that the King of Spain, a stupid and unactive Prince, suffer'd himfelf to be perswaded by a weak Minister, that the Ardour of Henry would cool, when the French had spent their first Fire on the Countries of Cleves and Juliers, and some other places of Italy. The King had Thirry Thousand Foot, and Six Thousand Horse in Champagne, Sixty Pieces of Artillery, and abundance of Money and Provisions.

visions. Twelve Thousand Foot and Two Thousand Horse waited in Dauphine the Orders of Lesdiguieres, to go and join the Duke of Savoy's Army. The Venetians promised to declare themselves, on condition they might have that part of the Milanese which lay most conveniently for them.

Henry burned with Impatience to march at the Head of so fair an Army. Sometimes he would try the Arms he design'd to bear in the Day of Battel; at other times he took pleasure to see the brave Prince Maurice of Orange bring him the best Troops of the United Provinces. Vex'd at the Advantages which Alexander Duke of Parma had gain'd over him in the Sieges of Paris and Roan, he hoped to take his Revenge against the Marquiss of Spinola, whose Reputation began to equal that of the other. He was the only General now which the House of Austria had to oppose to the King.

Measures were taken for the Administration of Government in his Absence: The Queen was to be Regent, and the Duke of Epernon President of her Council. It is amazing, that Henry would trust his Wise and Children in the Hands of a Lord whom he never loved, and whose Fidelity was ever suspected by him. But after all, he could never have made a better Choice. Of the Three Princes of the Blood, the first was in the Enemies Hands; Conti passed for a weak Man,

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and the Count of Soiffons was difgusted. Their ancient Enmity, and the strict Tie the Guises had to the Spaniard, made it unsafe for him to trust any of that House. Epernon had Wit, Courage, Honour, and was not without some Vanity. So great a Mark of Respect engaged him to exert himself, to answer the good Opinion the King had shewn of his Prudence and Fidelity.

Henry had yielded to the Importunities Henry is Afof the Queen, who ardently defired to be faffinated the Crowned in all the Forms. He imagined 14th of May this Complaines would make that issue

this Complaisance would make that jealous Princess forget the ill Humour the Kings Mistresses, and above all the Marquise de Vernueil had so oft put her in. The Ceremony of Confectation was perform'd at St. Denys, with great Magnificence. All things were disposed for the solemn Entry of the Queen into the Capital of the Kingdom. When on the Eve of the Day defign'd for that Pageantry, Henry going in his Coach to the Arfenal, to confer with the Duke of Sully, Superintendant of the Finances, and great Master of the Artillery, received two or three stabs with a Knife, one of which cut through the Artery of the Lungs. fell down dead on the Duke of Epernon, who was on one fide of him, and to whom he was whispering in the Ear, when he received the first blow.

Francis Ravillac a Native of Angoulème, committed this execrable Parricide the

14th day of May, 1610. In the Hurry and Confusion which attend Accidents of this kind, he might have faved himself by hiding his Knife. But perswaded this was an Action worthy of Reward, he kept it in his hand till he was feized. One of the Kings Gentlemen in ordinary, and some Footmen, would have given him a thousand stabs upon the spot; but the Duke of Epernon remembring the fault committed in killing in this manner the Monk, who murthered Henry the III. forbid any on pain of Death to rouch him. So he was secured, and carried to the Hôtel of Retz. By a Negligence which appear'd suspicious and affected, inflead of throwing this Wretch into a Dungeon, every one had the liberty to speak to him, during the two days he remained there. If the first Persons of the Kingdom thought they had more preffing Affairs than to revenge the Death of the King, what hindred the inferious Magistrates from doing their Duty, in discovering the Authours of so black at Attempt ?

The Onem labours to probe declared Regen , during the Minority of Lewis XIII. ker Son.

The Queen wiped off her Tears as loo as the Chancellour and Villeroy had made cure her jufto her sensible every Moment was precious and the must labour inceffantly to mak her Advantage of the absence of two the Princes of the Blood, and the weak nels of the other, to procure her felf to be declared Regent during the Minority her Son. The new King Lewis XIII

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was about to begin the tenth year of his Age, being born the 27th of September, 1601. The Dukes of Guise and Epernon, feemed the most proper Persons to execute the Project. The unbounded Ambition of both these Men, made them equally believe, by doing this fervice to a Foreign Princels unskilled in the Arts of Ruling a Nation, they should make themselves Masters of the Government. Behold then both of them marching through Paris, at the Head of divers Armed Men, to suppress any Tumult might be caused by the unexpected Death of the King. Guise goes directly to the Town-House, Epernon arrives a little after, and both exhort Lejay Provoft of the Merchants, the Echevins and the Citizens met there to continue faithful to ays the Son of him, whose Loss they Regrets of ted, and to take all necessary care to prenore vent Disorder and Contusion.

The Duke of Sully came from the Articular (enal, as soon as he heard of the Death of his good Master. He went to the Louvre, as other Persons of Quality did, who all ran to offer their Services, and swear Fisco delity to the New King, and the Queen his Mother. Surprized to find Bassompi-Memoires de erre at the head of a great number of Bassompierre. Horse; he thought sit to exhort him to take an Oath of Fidelity to Lewis: Well Sir, replyed Bassompierre, in a haughty disdainful Tone, We come here to require that of others, and there is no need of our preaching to us on that Chapter. I cannot C 2

not tell whether this answer made the Duke suspect these Men went to seize the Arsenal, and the Bastile, and that his Enemies were resolved to drive him out as foon as they could. However this was Sully returns back, stuts himself up in the Bastile, takes away all the Bread in the Markets, and Bakers Shops, and writes to the Duke of Roban his Son-in-Law, Colonel General of the Swiffes, to come to Paris with fix Thousand Men of that Nation, which he commanded in Champagne. In a word, he feems to make Provisions to fustain a Siege, in case any Attempt should be made to D. sposses him without his consent. An Imprudent step and subject to the most Sinister Interpretations especially in a time of universal Jealouse and Diftruft.

Vie du Duc L. VI.

Whilft Sully confin'd himself in the Bade Epernon stile, others were providing for themselve by labouring for the Queen. The Duke of Epernon had placed the Regiment of French Guards on the Pontneuf, and in the Streets round the Convent of Augustina The Parlement was there at that time because the Courts were fitted up for the Feasts prepared against the Crowning of the Queen. As foon as the Chamber were met by the care of the Presiden Seguier, with whom the Duke ha conferr'd, he entered boldly into the Hall, with his Sword taken out of th Belt. It is yet, says he, in the Scabban with a Rough Menacing Air. If the Quet to

be not declared Regent before the Court break usit must be drawn, and I foresee there will be Blood Spilt. Some of you Gentlemen, fays he, demand time to consider. This is an unfeasonable Prudence. What I propose, may be done now without Peril, but to morrow it cannot without Blood. The Duke added somewhat to soften so violent an Advance, The Members lookt on one another, aftonished at the Novelty of the Proposition, to put the Administration of the Gowithout the participation of the Queen, without the participation of the Princes of the Blood, and the Officers of the Crown. The Magistrates remained for some time in a pensive Silence. The first President de Marlay broke this at last, and said in few words, the Court was obliged to the Duke of Epernon, for the Zeal he had shown for the Publick good, and exhorted him always to retain Sentiments worthy of his ark and Virtue.

This short and general Answer, made

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Rank and Virtue.

This short and general Answer, made Epernon restlect a little. Far enough from berswading them, the Soldiers were placed in the count of the count of the count of the line berswading them, the Duke gave occation to believe, he intended to extort a bersold of the last of the Chambers liberty to deliber their Opinions without Constraint. It was proposed, said he, as he wishdrew, the last way. There is no time to be left. Last western their Opinions without Constraint. It was proposed, said he, as he wishdrew, the last way. There is no time to be left. Last western way as well as the rest, concluded in favour

favour of the Queen, and the Parlement awed, declared her Regent during the

under Age of her Son.

In the breaking up of the Affembly, the wifest Men deplored more than before, the Misfortune of their Country, in losing a King whole Life was so necessary for its Welfare. Now, faid they, are we ence again at the Discretion of an Italian Weman. What good is to be expected from a Regent, Prodigal, Imperious, and unexperienced? Our dependance must be now on Galigai and Conchini her Husband, Confidents of the Queen, and Pensioners of Spain. What Confusions will not their Covetousness and Ambition cause in the Court and Kingdom. If the King, added others, had followed the Advice given him, and drove out that Rabble, who were always cherishing Jealousie and Discontent in the Queen, perhaps we might not have had occasion now to bemoan the less of so good a Prince. It is well known, Conchini and his Wife threatned the Perfon of the King, if he attempted to punish Might not People of this their Villanies. stamp suborn an Asaffin?

d'impires de Aegence Medicis.

The next day all was ferene at Paris. Guife so well managed the humour of the as Marie de Duke of Sully, that he brought him to the Louvre to pay his Duty to the King and Queen. Villeroy had disposed them to receive him kindly. He infinuated inceffantly to the new Regent, that the ancient Ministers of her Husband being most acquainted with Affairs at home, and abroad

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broad, it would not be convenient to make any alteration in the Council. The Secretary of State was afraid the Difgrace of the Superintendant, might be of dangerous Consequence to the rest. This was an Example might be made use of against Villeroy himself. Sully made a set Speech to the Queen, and being perswaded the was averle to the War with Spain, and would unite her self with those her Husband sought to depress; the Duke affured her Majesty, he had endeavoured to divert the late King from his Defigns. The Duke of Vendome being luckily there, Sully appeal'd to him for the truth of what he had faid to his Father, in his presence. Base Courtier! who Sacrificed so early the Reputation of his Benefactour to his wavering Fortune.

The Provinces followed the Example of the Capital, Catholicks and Protestants alike submitted to the Regency of Mary. All was calm in the Armies. At the Sollicitation of his Father-in-Law, the Duke of Roban had brought the Swifles a days march towards Paris; but Sully content with the good Reception of the Queen, sending a speedy Countermand, he returned back. Gonzague Duke of Nevers, who commanded the Army in Champagne, made all the Officers swear Allegiance, and the Mareschal Lesdiguieres kept that in Dauphine to their Duty. The News being dispersed on all sides, that the new King was Recognized by the Parlement

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the day after his Fathers Death, and the Regency of the Widow was confirmed there in a Solemn manner; this did not a little conduce to settle the Tranquility of the Remote Provinces.

Lewis XIII.
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Seat of Jufice the first
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The Constable, the Peers of the Kingdom, and the great Officers of the Crown, appear'd in the Parlement. The King came thither followed by the Queen his Mother, the Prince of Conti, and the Count of Englien, Son of Soiffons, who was retired to an Estate in the Country, Disgusted that some mark of Distinction was refused to his Wife at the Queens Coronation. After every one had taken their place, Mary began a small Discourse which the had premeditated. Scarce had the uttered two or three Words, but a shower of Tears hindred her from proceeding farther. It was doubtful whether they proceeded from Grief or Joy. Every one made what construction he pleased. Resuming her Discourte after a sew Sighs, either Affected or Sincere, I have brought you here my Son, fays the Queen, to intreat you to take that care of him, which you are obliged to do. I conjure you to do this by the Memory of his Father, by the Love you ought to have for your selves, and your Zeal for your Country. I will in-Struct him to follow your Advice, in all the concerns of State. It is your part to see this be wholfom and good. When she had done, the came down within the Bar, as if the would ftill give them a liberty to agree in their

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Mercure Francois.

their Opinions concerning the Regency. The Princes, Lords, and Magistrates convinced there was more Ceremony than Reality in this begg'd her to take her place again. Mary skill'd in the Art of Diffimulation, suffer'd her self to be prest for a long time, till the Instances she required, seem'd to be a force on her Modelty and Grief.

Young Lewis rehearfed well enough the Discourse prepared for him. It was not omitted, here to infert the young King would follow the Advice of his Parliament. This is a Language which ancient Cuftom has made usual in the beginning of a Minority, but is never remembred by Princes, when their Authority is once Esta-Ann of Austria, and her Son, faid the same thing. Nevertheless we have feen with our own Eyes in the prefent Reign, and we shall see in that whose History I now write, that Lewis XIII, and his Successor, have too much given ear to vile Flatterers, who have prompted them to annul the Authority of a Body of Men, on which the Preservation of France does de- Reisel Hift. pend, and which was Established, to curb & dans fon the Absolute power of the King. Thus Men livre de la talked in the time of Lewis XIII. And this Monarchie Discourse is Seditious, under the Reign de France, t. of Lewis XIV.

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The Chancellour affured them, the late King had more than once fignified his Intention, according to divers preceding Examples; that the Queen his Wife should have

VIII. & X.

have the Administration of Affairs, in case he died before his Son was a Major. After the Chancellor's Harangue was over, the first President began. He exhorted the young Prince to strive to deserve the Title of Father of his People, as the good King Lewis XII. had done, on whose Throne he fat, and to follow the Instructions which St. Lewis left to Posterity. Servin, Advocate-General, did the same; and all was concluded by the King's Decree, fitting in his Seat of Justice, and confirming that made the preceding Day, and by fending it to other Parliaments, and publishing it throughout the Kingdom. Speeches of these Two great Magistrates would have been worthy of their Gravity and Reputation, if they had given less excessive Praises to a Princess, who never deferved the most moderate ones.

The New Decree being given out, the King returned with mighty Shouts and Acclamations of the Multitude, who admire whatever strikes their Senses. All People wished a long Prosperity to the Son of the Great Henry, crying for Justice on the Authours of his Father's Death. Happyhad it been, if the Prayers and Wishes of his Subjects could have obtained for him the Qualities of Mind and Inclinations necessary to tread in the Steps of the good Kings who preceded him; the number of whom is very small. But he had not Genius enough to acquire the one, and his

Mother

Mother would not permit him to have a 1610.

Governour to form him for the other.

The Count of Soissons was extremely surprized to find all done in his Absence, He made haste to Paris, accompanied with Intrigues and Three Hundred Gentlemen on Horseback. in the begin-To leffen his Discontent, which began to ning of the Rediscover it felf, he had the Government of gency of Mary Normandy given him. The Regent next re- de Medicis, warded those who had serv'd her well. The Pensions of the Princes of the House of Lorrain were very moderate in the preceding Reign. But Sully, who strove to support the greatest Enemies of his Religion, raised them to a Hundred thousand Livres. The Duke of Guise obtained Two Hundred Thousand Crowns to pay his Debts, and the Queen promised to favour him in the Defign he had to marry the Heirels of Joyeuse, Widow of the Duke of Montpensier, by whom she had only One Daughter. Epernon was so wealthy, and had fuch Places, he feem'd above the Gratifications of the Court. He was rewarded according to his own Humour. He had great Honours done him, all the Marks of a particular Diffinction. The Queen lodg'd him in the Louvre. I do not , faid she , think my felf safe there vie de Duc without him. The Secretaries of State d'Epernon, communicated all Dispatches to him. In a word; he seemed on the Point to render himself as formidable now as be had been under the Reign of the weak Henry III.

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The Count of Soiffons fought his Friendship with great earnestness. He He aimed by this to strengthen himself against the Prince of Conde, who was invited to return and take his Rank at Court; The Princess of Montpensier was Daughter to a Niece of the Duke of Epernon; and the Count hoped to bring the Wealth of that rich Family into his House, by marrying his Son to that Heiress. This Match could not be concluded without the Confent of the Uncle. Soiffons hated Sully mortally. He flatter'd himfelf that Epernon exasperated against that Minister, who had done very ill Offices to the One, and the Other, with the late King, would join with him to rid themselves of their common Enemy, The Duke did not refuse the Friendship of a Prince of the Blood, but would not engage to ferve him in all his Projects The Edge of the Count was not taken off by this: He proposes to his new Friend, to stab the Duke of Sully in the Louvre. A base and cowardly Action unworthy, I will not fay of a Prince, but of the meanest Man in the World ! It struck with Horror, one who valu'd himself on his Virtue and Probity. Epernon reply'd as civilly as he could, his Trust would not permit him to suffer a Violence of that kind in the King's House. The Count took this Denyal ill. However the secret Defire he had to raise himself above the Prince of Conde, who fill'd a Place that Soiffons thought belonged of Right to him, made him

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him dissemble his ill Humour. Could 1610. Epernon after this maintain a Friendship with a Man who had discover'd so villainous a Heart? However great a Prince is by his Birth or Interest, he can deserve nothing but Hatred and Contempt, when he once becomes guilty of fo black a Crime.

Jealousies broke out, and Intrigues State of Afgrew numerous, when the Debates fairs in the about forming the Regents beginning of Council. The Princes of the Blood the Regency. justly pretended to have a place there by Right of their Birth. The Constable of Montmorency, and the Duke of Joyeuse, thought they ought not to be excluded. Those of the House of Guise, assured of the good Intentions of the Queen towards them, hoped to raise themselves. They were too weak now to flatter themfelves for the future with obtaining the Superiority they formerly had over the House of Bourbon; yet they did not despair at least to rival the Princes of the Blood. But they found at home a great Obstacle to their coming into the Council: Two Lords of the same House could not be called to it. The Duke of Guise was the eldeft; but the Age and Experience of the Duke of Mayenne his Uncle, requir'd him to be preferr'd. Henry being dangerously ill some Years before, had a mind to form a Council. He named this Lord then, who was heartily reconciled to him, and fince that time had

given

given the King Marks of his inviolable Fidelity. This was a great Prejudice in his Favour. The Duke of Nevers too demanded to be admitted, and disputed the Precedence with the Guises. New Per-

plexities on all fides!

The Emulation between the Marechal of Bouillon and the Duke of Epernon was grown to fo great a height, that it was not possible the one should be in the Council to the Prejudice of the other. This latter was confiderable for his Charge of Colonel General of the Foot and other great Places. The Queen did not dare to give distaste to a haughty and powerful Man, who had just served her in a very Handsome manner. Bouillon had a great Heart, a capacious and discerning Mind, kept a strict Alliance and constant Intelligence -with Foreign Princes. The Sovereignty of Sedan made him considerable at home and abroad. No one had more Interest than he with the Protestants of France. The late King stood in fear of him. He gave a Check to his turbulent and ambitious Hamour, but would not push the Matter to an Extremity. So that the Marechal was capable of doing a great deal of good, if he followed his Reason, or a great deal of Mischief, if he abandoned himself to his There were other Lords of Paffion. great Bitth, who might pretend to have a place in the Council, but they were yet of an Age, in which Men of Quality have stronger Inclinations to Pleasure, than to concern

concern themselves in Matters of State. Of this number were the Duke of Vendome, the Grand Prior of France, both Natural Sons of Henry Duke of Longueville, and the Count of St. Paul, a younger Brother of the same House.

The Chancellor de Sillery, the Duke of Sully, Villeroy, and the President Feannin, faw all this Emulation with Pleasure. This left the entire Direction of Affairs to themfelves, under the Name of the Queen. Therefore in the first place they advised her, not to give Distaste to any Person till the first Prince of the Blood should return, and to admit into her Council all the great Lords who demanded a Place there. The greater the number of these was, the less Interest and Power any particular Persons could have. In the mean time, each took his Opportunity to entertain the Regent. They took care to prepare Matters to be proposed, to give seemingly some Employment to the Assembly. But these Gentlemen foresaw it would soon degenerate into Confusion: That some would take a diftafte themselves, and others might be removed under colour of fending them to execute their Places and Governments.

While these Intrigues employ'd the The Tryal and Courtiers, the Parliament was busie in Execution of the Process of Ravillac. The first Presi-Ravillac. dent, affifted by another, and Two Counfellors, examin'd him several times, All that can be drawn from the Interrogatories

gatories now extant, are, That Ravillac was an Enthusiast, who imagining on some Reports, that he had heard, that the King was about to make War on the Pope, and did not coucern himself for the Conversion of the Hugonots, took a Resolution to kill a Prince, whom he looked on as an unjust Tyrant. What Ravillac had learnt from the Sermons ef the execrable Preachers of the League, who justified James Cl ment, confirm'd him in his Belief, that any private Man might take away the Life of a Prince who was an Enemy of the Holy Father. To make War on the Pope, fays Ravillac to his Judges, is to make War on God in as much as the Pope is God, and God is the Pope. This moves our Pity indeed. But do not those Princes, who by a strange fort of Politicks, submit their Dominions to the Pope, deserve our Pity more than Affaffins seduced by the Emissaries of the Court of Rome? After the Attempt of John Chastel, Henry was always afraid of the Knife of the League. The Defire he had to keep himself from it, did not a little conduce to make him recal a fort of People, who have the Secret to make themfelves formidable to Soverei ... He loaded the Jesuites with his Favours. But had he not better provided for the Security of his Life, and the Publick Good, by giving Ear to the wife Remonstrances of the first President De Harlay?

Mercure François, 1610. lac

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Ravillac, otherwise ignorant, knew so 1610. well how to maintain the Dogm of the Society of Fesuites, and the Leaguing Sorbon, one might easily guels a certain set of Men, had taken care to instruct him. But whether to pleasure a Religious, who call'd him his Friend, and recommended to him in express Words at the Hotel of Retz, not to accufe bonest Men ; or that he conceiv'd himfelf the horrible Defign; the Criminal constantly assirmed to the end of his Life, that no Person whatever, Frenchman or Forigner, had put him upon killing a Prince, who had never done him any wrong, and whose Death, though unpunish'd, could do him no good. He was condemned to fuffer the Punishment which the Laws of France appoint for such Parricides, and the Sentence was executed on the 27th of May.

The Proceedings of Parlement the same Day Ravillac was executed, are an evident Proof that that Body faw that the Writings and Sermons of fome Do-Sorbon, (engaged in the The Condemctors of the and poison'd by the Books nation of the League, which the Jesuites publish'd to revive that trine of Mapernicious Doctrine, which the Faculty of rianathe Je-Paris had censur'd in the Year 1413. and suite, was confirm'd by the Council of Constance.) The Decree, I say, made the same Day Ravillac suffered, convinc'd the World, that they thought those Books and Preachments had plunged the Knife in the Heart of Henry and his Predecessor. The Parlement therefore ordered the Faculty of

Paris

1610. Pari to meet and confirm anew their ancient Cenfure, authorized by the Council of Constance, against those who teach. That a Vaffal or a Subject may, and ought in Conscience to kill any Tyrant whatever, and Asault him all fort of ways, and that this Action is not contrary to that Oath of Fidelity, which Vassals and Subjects The Doctors take to their Soveraigns. obey'd the order fignified to them. The Parlement on the 10th of June gave another Sentence, condemning the Book de Rege & Regis institutione of Mariana the Jesuit, to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman, as containing, fays the Decree, diverse execrable Blasphemies 4. gainst the late King Henry III. and against the Persons and States of Kings and Soveraign Princes.

The Jesiirs have ever had their Parri. fans and Adversaries. The first were ready to excuse them, and the latter rose up against them with great Zeal and Vehemence. The Abbot Dubois preaching at St. Eustace in Paris, undertook in one of his Sermons, to refute the Opinions of Mariana. By a figure of Rhetorick lively enough, he addrest his Speech to the good Fathers, and exhorted them ftrongly for the future, to take care in the Books published in the name of their Body, and with Approbation of their Superious, to let nothing pals offensive to France; unless the Fesuits would expose themselves to Dangers which all their Prudence ftrengthen'd

en'd by the Power of their Friends, would not be able to avoid. This Discourse made a great Impression on the Audience, They went away enraged against the Society, and the People appeared extreamly incen-

fed against them.

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Complaint was made to the Queen of this Sermon, and the remitted the Affair to the Archb shop of Paris. Dubois protested before that Prelate, he meant no hurt to the Society. My Love, said he, to Truth, my Grief for the Death of the King, and a just Dread of the fatal Effects that the Do-Etrine of Mariana may produce, such Sentiments as these, made me Speak in that manner. The Archbishop of Paris had nothing to reply, and contented himself with exhorting the Preacher to live well, with all the Servants of God, and particularly with the Jesuits. But it had been more to the purpole, to perswade effectually those good Fathers to pardon the Abbor, the injury which they thought they had received. I do not know how it came to pass, but Dubois had the Imprudence to go to Rome the next year, and then they did not want colour, to that him up in a close Prison.

The Patience of Father Coton Confession to the late King, could not bear to hear the General Exclamation against his Brethren. He resolved to justifie the Society, against the Imputation on the account of Mariana's Book. His Wise and discerning Friends, advised Coton to

fay nothing, for fear of any Misunderflanding in an Affair that must be so nicely handled. Every one wonder'd that a Man who knew the World fo well, and wanted not Prudence, should not take so good Advice. He published a long Letter addresfed to the Queen, to perswade the World, Mariana was a private Person disown'd by their Body, who had true Notions of the Authority of Princes, and the Obedience due to them. The thing happened at the Friends of the Jesuits had foretold. A thousand Pamphlets were instantly published against the Fathers Letter. It is full, fay they, of Ambiguous Expressions and Tricking. They infulted him on his pretended disclaiming the Doctrine, which was plainly forced to comply with prefent necessity. It comes too late, said fome, maliciously enough to the good Fathers, but perhaps it will not be useles to the Children of him, who is now in his Grave.

Indeed the defence of Coton was weak, and ill put together. What he said of the Complaints of the Provincial Congregation held at Paris some years before, and the Answer of their General Aquaviva, gave an Advantage to the Enemies of the Society. The French Jesuits having desired their Superiour to stop the Licence, and Suppress the Books of some Authours, who had written some things to the prejudice of France, the Father gave them this Answer. We approve the Judgment and Care of your Congregation.

gregation. And we are very forry, that this was not discover'd till after the Impression of these Books. We have taken order they shall be corrected, and we will have a care that nothing of the like nature shall happen for the future. This is very cold and ambiguous, for an Opinion which allows Attempts on the Lives of Soveraigns. Here are some of the Prudential Managements of the Children of this World. But there is no formal disavowing that execrable Dogm, the Defenders of which

deferve an Exemplary punishment.

We must be very simple to believe, that the Superiours of the Society did not know what Mariana and others of the same stamp wrote, till after the Publication of their Works; do's not all the World know what are their Statutes relating to the Publication of their Books. It is to little purpose, that Coton cites several Authours, of different Sentiments from Mariana. If among so many 'able Men, there was none to be found who maintain Homicide to be absolutely forbid by the Laws of God, it would be a very extraordinary thing. The permission of the Society to print Mariana's Book, is ground enough to conclude they approve it, or at least do not condemn it as ill. These Writers pass for grave Authours, but according to the Principles of Probability, a Dogm which ows its Birth to, or at least is adopted by the Society in all its Forms; James Clement could on the Authority of Mariana, Affaffi-

Affaffinate Henry III. And his Successour 1610. might be kill'd with a fafe Conscience. at least at a time when Sixtus V. and Gregory XIV. darted all the Thunder of the Vatican against him.

Henry IV.

The Jesuits bore the most violent As-The Funeral of faults of the Preachers of Paris, at the time of Henry's Funerals. The Ceremony was performed with the usual pomp. The Heart was fent to the College of Jesuits, which the King had founded at la Flecke in Anjou. He had ordered it thus before his Death. Coton made his Funeral Oration there. The Body was first carried to the Cathedral Church of Paris, and from thence conveyed to the ordinary Burying-place of the Kings of France. The Bishop of Aire pronounced the Elogy of the Deceafed King at Notre Dame, and the Bishop of Tho' Henry might Angers at St. Denys. deferve in the Eyes of the World the Title of Great, his Vertues and Actions did not deserve the Church of Rome should interrupt her Holy Rites, to make his Panegyrick in a Pulpit, which ought to be Sacred to the Preaching of the Truth.

What can a good Christian say in praise of a Prince, dead in several Criminal Habits, on the point of putting all Europe in a Flame, and caufing a great Effusion of Blood, to satisfie his Ambition, to revenge himself of his Enemies, who were not in a condition to hurt him, to force away a Princess in the face of the World,

whole

whose Husband took Refuge, to defend imself from the Solicitations and Pursuits of a King, whom love had deprived of all Senseand Reason? His pretended Conversion was a fair Field for prophane Orators, void of Religion to exercise their Eloquence. Their Triumph in so Important a Conquest, served to cover his ill Life, and impenitent Death. But were they ever assured Henry was sincerely a Catholick. Let us leave that to the judgment of God. If it be true, this Princes Conscience was settled in matters of Faith, it is certain his irregular Life, did not do much honour to the Religion which Politicks probably induced ligion which Politicks probably induced him to embrace. The flattering Bishops who praised him after his Death, had never the Courage to reprove him for his Debauches, as the Protestant Ministers had done before he left them.

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At and after the Funeral, wife Men The good and spoke very differently of the Qualities and ill Qualities Actions of the Deceased King. Some of Henry IV. admired his Happiness in coming to the Crown from so remote a Degree, that it was doubted if the Right of Succession could extend fo far. Others praised his Valour in War, his undaunted Courage in the most dangerous Occasions, his Experience and Ability in the command of Armies; his Moderation in his good Fortune, his Constancy in Advertity, his Clemency to his greatest Enemies, his Affability, his Love to his Subjects, his Prudence not to drive them to Extremity, but

when they went beyond Murmurs; and lastly, the Mildness with which he heard

their Remonstrances.

Other more discerning Persons, said there was more Rashness than Prudence in the Bravery of Henry. That he exposed himself to Dangers without Necessity, That if he had met with an Enemy more active and able, than the Duke of Mayenne, he would have been forced to fly into England a little after the Death of his Predecessour. That the Heads of the League were better rewarded, than his most faithful Adherents; that instead of being Liberal, he was Prodigal to Persons that deserved nothing. That he gave with Profusion to his Mistreffes, and those who served him in his Pleasures. That he had an exorbitant Passion for Play: That he discover'd a coverous Humour, very little agreeable with the Character of a great Prince: That under the colour of eafing the People, he laid on New Taxes. That he introduced into the State, Selling of Offices.

The Ill natured People did not spare to reflect on his Domestick Conduct. They is censur'd him sharply for his manner of leaving Queen Marguerite, to follow the Gallander try of her Temper. More insensible than put the Emperour Claudius, said they, he suffered this new Messalina, whom he owned for his lawful Wise, to dishonour him publickly. Did he intend at his own Expence, to teach those

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those whose Wives he Debauched, to be easie Husbands. All Men spoke with Indignation of his advances towards marrying Gabriele d'Etrees, and his Ingratitude to Harlay de Sancy, whom he turned out of his Places, for delivering his Thoughts freely on so scandalous a Match. They laught at his promise to the Marquise de Vernueil, given under his own hand Writing, to take her for his Wife, in case the brought him a Boy within the year; His continual jars with the Queen, His easiness in suffering the Infolence of Vernueil, who always spoke of the Queen with the last Contempt. So true it is, that Persons of good Sense, will not judge of the Solidity of the Merit of a Prince, by studied Panegyricks, flattering Titles, Statues erected to him, or pompous Inscriptions engraved on Marble or Brass.

Sometime before the Body of Henry The Refairer ha- was in his Tomb, there was a debate in of the council, the private concerning the Armies which the juliers. on late King had Raised, which were very the chargeable to keep up. The Opinions were very different about them: It is not to a time now, said some Persons, to give they it to the House of Austria. A Po-Memoire de

eav-tent and Crafty Enemy, will find ways to la regence lan-embroil the State. His Catholick Majesty de Marie de that proposed to the late King, the double Mar-suferiage of the Infanta with Mons. the Dauls for phin, and of the Prince of Spain, with ickly. Madame the Eldest Daughter of France.

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Jealcuste to the King of Spain, and resume the Negetiation of the two Marriages, to make a surm Alliance. This Mary most ardently desired, being Prepossessed by her Italian Considents, who were corrupted by the Court of Madrid, the new Regent imagined the Establishment of her Power, depended upon her good Understanding with the Pope, and the King of

Spain.

This latter indeed had made diverse steps before the Death of Henry, to conclude this double Alliance, and Paul V. labour'd to effect it. The Court of Rome hoped to find her Advantage in it. Being convinced it was not possible to ruin the Protestants without the Concurrence of the two Crowns, the labour'd with all her Might, to form an Alliance between Whilft the one those Rival Powers. was bufie to overthrow the Protestant Interest in Germany, and the Low Countries. they Projected to engage the other to reduce the Hugonots in France. For the King of Great Britain, and the two Northern Crowns, they were not in any great pain about them. The first did not feem difficult to win. Sweden was imployed as gainst the King of Poland, who attempted to recover the Dominions, of which he thought himself unjustly deprived. King of Denmark being unable to do any thing of himself, none doubted he would take that fide which James the I. his Bro ther-in-Law flould embrace. Thi

This was the Project of the Courts of Rome and Madrid; but Henry too well understood his own Interest, and that of the rest of Europe, to fall into the snare laid for him. Very far from giving ear to the double Marriage proposed to him, he promifed his Eldeft Daughter to the Prince of Piemont, and fent Baffompierre into Lorrain to treat with the Duke, who had no Male Children for the Marriage of his Eldest Daughter, with the Dauphin of France. No sooner was Henry dead, but the Court of Rome refumed the Treaty of Alliance between the two Crowns by a double Marriage. The Regent had always defired it, and the private Pensioners of Spain supported it with all their Interest, in the Council of France.

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The Chancellour was one of the number of those who approved it. But he had reason enough to oppose those who propoled to have all the Troops Disbanded. Shall we make the World believe, fays he, the this we all fland in awe of the King of Nor- Spain? Shall we bid Defiance to our best reat Allies? They will think we intend to abaneem in them. Who will bereafter feek the Allide ance of this Crown? I think it adviseable to pred keep up the Army in Champagne, and send in he did to Juliers, to drive out Archduke Leo-The pold. The Arms in Dauphine gives more jea-and pusite to Spain. This is commanded by a could protestant Mareschal of France. I think Browness two Reasons, should move us to Disband. But common Prudence will not Suffer Thi

us to difarm our selves entirely, before the 1610. return of Monsieur the Prince, before we have certain Information of the Disposition of the Court of Spain, before the Power of the King and Queen Regent be well Establifbed.

> This Advice was looked on as best. The choice of a General to carry the Aid defign'd for the Countries of Cleves and Juliers, caused new Perplexities. The Mareschal de Bouillon pretended to that Employ, and Villeroy gave him hopes of it. However the Mareschal De la Châtre was preferr'd to him. The Court would not give an Ab-Man, and a Protestant, whom they were jealous of, the Command of an Army defigned to joyn Prince Maurice, his Friend and Brother-in-Law. Bouillon made a great noise. Must my Religion, said he, exclude me from all Employs due to my Rank and · Services. When Monf. the Prince returns. I'll try to make a Party to oppose this new Triumvirate of the Count of Soissons, the Duke of Epernon, and the Cardinal of Joyeule. These Men would be Masters of all things.

Edicts revoked for the ple. A Declaration in Protestants.

To hinder the Princes and discontented Lords from caufing an Infurrection among ease of the Peor the People, or raising the Protestants, the took care to give Satisfaction to even favour of the Man. Fifty four Edicts for taxing the People were Revoked, diverse missions were superseded, and the priced Salt abated one fourth part. To remove a Distrust from the Protestants, a Declarati

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on was set forth to confirm the Edict of 1610. Nants. Though, as the young King is reported to have faid, this Formality was not necessary, in regard that Law was Irrevocable and Perpetual. Those who had the greatest Interest in the Party, they strove to gain by Presents. The Regent sent word to Du Plessis Mornay, He might ask what he liked best, and that her Majesty would readily grant it. No Man Shall ever Re- vie de Mr. proach me, said that Wise and Religious du Plessis Gentlewoman, with taking Advantage Mornay L.II. of the Difasters of my Country, or extorting the least thing from a Minor King, or his Distressed Mother. If the Queen order me to be paid, what has been long due to me, I will look on this Order as a new Gratifica-

Affairs were in this Posture, when the The Prince of Prince of Conde prepared to return into Conde's Re-France. No sooner did the Count of Fu-turn. entes hear of the Death of Henry, but he employed all his Wit and Address, to perswade the Prince not to neglect so fair an Opportunity to make himself King. The Mem. dela Divorce of your Kinsman from Margaret Regence de of France, and his Marriage with Mary de Medicis. Medicis, Says the crafty Spaniard, are contrary to the Laws of God, and of the Church. Will you tamely lose a Crown which belongs to you. Have but Courage to affert your Right, you will not want Power or Support. I offer you all the King my Mister can do for you. If the Authority of the Holy See interposed in the Divorce of Henry, we

161c.

will find a way to engage Paul V. to declare null, what his Fredecessour did. The Thing is not without Example. Fuentes caused the Project to be proposed to the Pope, who rejected it. Condé did not any more give ear to it, either because the Defign appeared Chimerical to him, or remembring the proceedings against Charlotte de la Trimoville, his Mother, he did not dare attempt to contest the Legitimacy of the Children of a King, who had employed all his power to make him fo, when a great many thought his Condition doubtful. Conde went from Milan to Bruffels, to take the Princess his Wife. Firm in his Resolution, to content himfelf with the Rank he had in France, he would not fuffer himself to be allured by a deceitful Appearance; and therefore prepares to refume his former place at Court. The Regent pressed him every day to it, and his Friends waited with Impatience for him.

The Arrival
of the Prince
Condeat Pa-

Those of the House of Lorrain, the Mareschal of Bouillon, and the Duke of Sulli went to Senlis to meet him. And now a new Part began to appear on the Stage. The Regent took Umbrage at this. The Count of Soissons, the Duke of Epernon, and the Cardinal of Joieuse, fearing there was a design to drive them from Court, began to think of defending themselves. Mary alarm'd herself, hearkned to the Advice given her to arm the Parissans. New Officers were chosen, who took an

Oath to the Oncen in the Town-Hall, and in less than eight days time above an hundred Thousand Men were in Arms. However Conde enter'd Paris, accompanied with fifteen Hundred Gentlemen. He had received intelligence from different Hands, that at the Sollicitation of the Count of Soiffons, the Regent would fecure his Person, and the Mareschal of Bouillon. But the kind Reception he met with from their Majesties, dispersed all

these Jealousies.

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He declared at first, he had no design Two powers to dispute the Regency, which the Queen of al Exclient was in poffession of. Notwithstanding at Court The this, the frequent Cabals he had with the Conde at the Heads of his Party sometimes at the Hotel head of one, of Mayenne, and fometimes at the Arfe-and the Count nal, gave an extream Jealousie. The the other. i: Duke of Sulli Mafter of the Artillery which was there, and the Money the late King had lodged in the Bastile, could have furnished Conde with means to undertake fomething confiderable. But he had not the Courage. Either because the Arming the Citizens broke his Measures or the Guises united with him, were more concerned for their own Interests, than the greatness of a Prince, naturally an Enemy of their House. These Men privately had affired the Queen, they only joined themselves to the Prince of Conde, to skreen themselves from the ill Defigns of the Count of Soiffons, who endeavour'd to depress them, and they should be the first to leave him, it

Soiffonsof

if he ever declared against her Ma-1610.

jefty.

Conde might have spared the Guises, and might have made the Queen, the Count of Soissons, and all the contrary Faction tremble, by following the Counsel of the

Duc de Rohan.

Memoires de Mareschal of Bouillen. This was to return to the Reformed Church, which Henry had forced him to forfake, and declare himself Protectour of the Protestants in France. Supported by the Experience and Credit of Bouillon, secure of the Money in the Bastile, which Sully could put into his hands, strengthned with a great number of Swiffes, which Rohan their Colonel General would have brought to him, followed by all the Protestant Nobility, who would have been at his Devotion, Mafter of feveral good and well fortified Cities; with all these great Advantages, the first Prince of the Blood would have balanced the power of the Regent, and made himself formidable at home and abroad. But he was only good, to enrich himself like a Country Gentleman, Covetous and Contentious in reasoning a point of Law, or Discusfing a Question of School Divinity. Some had put it into his Head, to defire the Reversion of the Dignity of Constable, but he had the Mortification to fee himself denied. Too Happy in obtaining the Hôtel of Condi, now called Conde, which the Queen bought for him.

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As foon as the Mareschal of Bouillon, 1610. perceived that the Prince, he made his Ac- The Mireschal count of, had neither Genius nor Courage de Bouillon to follow the steps of his Predecessors, he Reunite bath resolved to reconcile himself with the Parties. Bouillon would have put himfelf at the Head of the Protestants of France. He had thought of this in the preceding Reign. But the Dukes of Sulli and Roban, the Mareschal Les Diguieres, and divers other confiderable Persons of the Party, were no Friends to him. So he made new Protestations of his Devotion to serve their Majesties. He proposes to the Marquels de Cœuvres the Reconciling of the two Princes. I'll undertake to dispose Conde, fays the Mareschal to the Marquels, if you will treat with Soissons, who has a Regard for you. Sillery, Villeroy, and Jeannin govern, whilft the Princes and great Lords are divided among themselves. Let us Reunite the contrary Parties, without prejudice to the Queens Authority. This is the only way to remove these great Ministers, and reduce the rest to the simple, discharging

The Count of Soissons was afraid this The Queen was a Trick of the Mareschal. He ima-Traverse the gined if those of his Party gave ear to Vnion of the Bouillon's Proposition, he would inform great Lords. the Queen, and create a Distrust in her, of the Count and his Friends. The Cardinal of Joyeuse was of another Opinion,

the Duties of their Places.

Repote of the State. The Cardinal then

D 5 obtained

1610. obtained the consent of Soiffons, to treat with the Mareschal upon the Subject. The Queen to whom the Count communicated the Accommodation proposed, feem'd to be well fatisfied with it; however underhand the Traversed it. Ministers made her sensible, that if the two Princes of the Blood, the Conftable of Montmorency, the Dukes of Guife, and Epernon, the Mareschal of Bouillon, and the Cardinal of Foyeufe were once agreed, her Authority would be

The Rife of nem Marques of Ancre.

her Favours.

The Failing of so many Projects, made Conchini the the Mareschal of Bouillon resolve to retire to Sedan; at the same time preparations were making for the Inauguration of The Mareschals the King. would not give him leave to affift at the Ceremony. But before he left the Court for some time, he was resolved to make a powerful Friend near the Regent. was Conchini, Husband of Leonora Galigai, a Confident of Mary de Medicis. had lately bought the Marquisate of Ancre in Picardy. As his Favour encreased every day, he had obtained the Governments of Peronne, Montdidier, and Roie, in the same Province. So sudden a Rise, made all the Ministers uneasie. I cannot tell whether the Count of Soissons, and those

much diminished by it. The Regent thought it better to keep up Jealousies and Misunderstanding between contrary Factions, and gain the Heads of both by

of his Party neglected a New Favourite, whom they did not think able to ferve or hurt them. However this was, Conchini ftrove to gain the good will of the Prince of Conde: This Man was the Instrument which the Queen employed, to divert the Prince and Duke of Guise from hearkning to the Accommodation proposed by the Mareschal of Bouillon; the Mareschal was too discerning a Man, not to see the Friendship of the Marquels of Ancre, might be of great Service to him. He offer'd to lay down his Place of first Gentleman of the Chamber, if Conchini would buy it; the Bargain was foon concluded.

All Foreign Princes the Republick of The King of Venice, and that of the United Provinces Spains Prehad fent Ambassadours to the New King. double Match. The ancient Alliances were renewed, and Lewis with all Solemnity received in the Church of the Feuillans, the Garrer which the Ambassadour of England brought him from James I. The Duke of Feria appeared with great Pomp and Splendour in the Name of the King of Spain. Not being able to embroil France, by means of the Prince of Conde, Philip offered his Forces to Mary, against all those who thould difturb her in her Regency. Ambassadour again proposed the double Marriage, which his Mafter had made an offer of to the late King. Philip knew very well, he could not propole any thing more agreeable to the Regent. The prefent posture of Affairs of the House of Au-

Aria

1610. firia, required her speedily to conclude a Treaty, which might give her time to settle her Affairs in Germany, and raile Jealousie and Distrust among those Princes, who were Allies of France. And because the Marriage could not so soon be finithed, the King obtain'd Mary's Word, that France Could not meddle in the Affairs of the House of Austria in Germany, and he engaged himself reciprocally, not to hear any Propositions which the Disaffected Party in France should make him. Behold now how the Court of Madrid was Embaraffed.

Differences beperour Rodolphus, and Brather.

The Emperour Rodolphus extremely tween the Em- broken, feem'd not likely to live a long time. Endeavours were used to secure the Archduke the Empire in the House of Austria, by Matthias his the Election of a King of the Romans. Rodolphus lived in a misunderstanding with his Brethren, and the Protestants were very powerful. The King of Spain was afraid some Men should make use of so favourable an Opportunity to remove the Empire from a House which possest it for too long a time, and feeks to make it Here-The Archduke Matthias taking advantage of the weakness of the Emperour his Brother had carried on in the Year 1608. a Confederacy between the States of Hungary and Austria. marched sometime after towards Moravia. at the Head of an Army of twenty Thoufand Men, with a defign to compel Rodolphus, to yield up the Kingdom of Hungary,

Book I. LEWIS XIII.

gary, the Arch-dutchy of Austria, and Stiria, and Moravia. Matthias took the Pretext of ill Administration, and Infractions of the Privileges of those Countries, who after the Example of the ancient Germans, never gave their Princes an Arbitrary Unlimited Power. A Fundamental Maxim of Government in all States, formed out of the Ruines of the

Roman Empire.

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Philip II. King of Spain, had attempted to Abolish the Privileges of the Hereditary Provinces of the Low Countries, and he took them away entirely from the Kingdom of Arragon, the first Magistrate of which, would have opposed the unjust Oppressions of Antonio Perez. Archduke Matthias, next Kinsman to Philip, better instructed than that cruel Tyrant in the Maxims of lawful Government, made no scruple to place himfelf at the Head of the United Provinces, for the Defence of their Liberty against the Spaniards. At present too, the same Archduke makes without scruple, War on his Brother, who violates the Privileges of the States of Hungary and Austria. Rodolphus gave just cause for this Opposition, or not, it is not a place here to examine the Fact. I only Remark, that in the first years of an Unfortunate Age, in which Tyranny has Established it telf almost every where; there have been some Princes of the House of Austria, have thought their Conscience and Religion

1010.

defend the Liberty of their Countrey, and march at the Head of an Army against their own Brothers.

As foon as the Emperour found the Defigns of the Archduke, he convened the States of Bohemia raised Troops, writ to the Elector and Princes of the Empire to demand Aid of them. There was in Bohemia at that time, two powerful Parties of a contrary Religion, the Catholicks and the Gofpellers. Under the name of Gospellers, were comprehended the ancient Hussites; those of the Confession of Ausburg, and the Reformed. The States of Bohemia were composed of Perfons of both one and the other Party. They presented to the Emperour divers Articles for the Regulation of Policy and Justice. The Gospellers in particular required, That the Clergy should not meddle in Civil Affairs, That they should not determine Disputes concerning Marriage, That they thould not acquire Estates in Land, without the consent of the States of the Kingdom. That all Persons should be admitted to places of Judicature, without diffinction of Religion. Rodolphus consented to what the States demanded. The Concerns of Religion were remitted to the next Affembly, which was appointed the end of September following. And the States in conclusion swore to employ their Lives and Fortunes in the Emperour's Service.

Matthias was already at the Gates of 1610. Prague with his Army. After some Ne- A Treaty of gotiations, the two Brothers agreed to Peace between name Deputies on both fides, to confer thers. together in a Neighbouring Village; The Peace was concluded on certain Conditions, I will relate the principal ones. That the Emperor should quit the Kingdom of Hungary; the States of the Country should chuse no other King than Archduke Matthias; that Redolphus should give him and his Heirs Male, the Archdutchy of Austria, without referving to himself any Right: That he should succeed to the Kingdom of Bohemia, in case the Emperor died without Issue Male; That the States of Bohemia should ratifie this Article: That the Archduke should promise to maintain their Privileges if the Kingdom came to him; That Matthias and his Heirs should have the Administration of Moravia, with the Title of Marquess; That in the Affemblies of the Countries yielded up by Rodolphus, the Archduke should take care to have a certain Annual Contribution paid to the Emperor. When the Treaty had been ratified on both fides, Matthias goes to take Possession of the Arch-dutchy of Austria. The Catholicks swear Fidelity to him, but the Protestants refuse to do it, and take Arms. By the Perswasion of Leopold of Austria Bishop of Strasburg, of Mellini Cardinal and Nuncio of the Pope, and Forgatsi Bishop of Vienna and Cardinal; . the

1610. the new Soveraign published an Edict, to forbid all his Subjects of Austria the exercise of the Protestant Religion.

Matthias is Elected and Crowned King of Hungary.

From Vienna, Matthias passes into Hungary. Before they proceeded to Crown the new King, the Lords of the Country prefented divers Articles to him, which they required him to swear to observe, viz. That the Protestants should have free exercise of their Religion in all Cities, not excepting that in which the King resided; That a Palatin should be erected, who should in Conjunction with the Senators. have the Administration of Affairs in case the King did not refide in Hungary; That the Jesuits should not be tolerated, and the Licentious Lives of the Clergy be reformed. On these Conditions Matthias was proclaimed King, and Crowned at Presburgh in the year 1608.

The Discontent of the Proteflants in Auflria abated.

The Protestants in Austria sent a Deputation to those in Hungary, intreating them to interceed with Matthias in favour of their Brethren, and defiring their Affistance, by virtue of a League Offenfive and Defensive, still in being between the States of Hungary and Austria, in cale Marthias perfifted to refuse them the free exercise of their Religion. He replyed to the Instances the Protestant Lords of Hungary made to him; That he would leave all things in the same State they were put in by the Regulation of the Emperor Maximilian his Father. The Consideration, said he, I am obliged to have for the

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1610.

the Pope and the Catholick King, will not allow me to grant the Protestants the exercise of their Religion in the Towns of Aufiria. Let them lay down their Arms, and I will grant it them abroad. In the mean time, those of both Religions shall be indifferently promoted to places of Judicature. Hangarian Lords thought this reasonable, and advised the Protestants to accept the Terms, rather than make War.

It is hard to come to a Resolution on a fudden. After some Movements the matter was determined, in the year 1609. At the Intreaty of this states of Moravia, and by the care of the Archduke Maximilian Brother of the Emperor and King of Hungary, Matthias consented That the Lords and Protestant Gentlemen of Austria, should have the free exercise of their Religion in their Castles, Villages, and their private Houses for their Family only, when they should be in Town: That they should have Publick exercise of it in three Cities, specified in the Treaty, where the Churches should be equally divided between the Catholicks and Protestants; That all places should be indifferently given to capable Persons of both Communions. The Protestants upon this submitted, and took an Oath of Fidelity to the new King.

The Emperor had longer and more Differences difficult Contests with the Gospellers in about Religion The Affembly of the States in Bohemiaappointed at the end of September 1608. was put off till January following.

Roman

1610. Roman Catholicks did all they could to exalperate Rodolphus against the Gespellers. and perswaded him, that they enjoyed the exercise of their Religion only by a simple Toleration. The Oath of Subjects, is relative to that of a Prince, faid the Gofpellers with Indignation to Rodolphus, hearken to the ill Advice given him by certain Perfons: If the Emperor will not keep the Oath be has made to us, we think our fe'ves difcharged from that we have taken to him. Rodolphus remitted the hearing of their Complaints to the chief Officers of Bohemia, who were all Carolicks. Thefe interessed Judges contemning what the Gospellers alledged in their Defence, they protested in a full Affembly, against all the proceedings of the States, and demanded time to give notice to the rest of their Brethren in the Kingdom of what paffed and to inform his Imperial Majesty.

The Gospellers instantly sent a Deputation to the King of Hungary, and the Election and Princes of the Empire, intreating them to intercede with Rodolphus. Emperor resolved the States should continue to sie, and regulate all Matters of Religion. The Term of their Seffions being expired, the Emperour dismit them, and forbid the Gospellers to meet in the Court of the New Prague, or debate of their Affairs there. In vain did they Petition his Majesty to allow them a place of Meeting, for the taking Meafures to represent to him the Justice of rheir

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Book I. LEWIS XIII.

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their Pretentions, and read the Answer which the King of Hungary, and the Electors and Princes of the Empire had fent them. Incensed at the unjust refusal of Rodolphus, the Gofpellers take each other by the hand, and mutually fwear to lofe their Lives in defence of their Liberties and Religion, take Arms in the Court of the new Prague, broke open the Gates, enter and confult what was fit to be done in their Condition. They were not more than three Hundred. Budovitz their chief, lays open to the Affembly the Importance of their Undertaking, the danger they are threatned with, and the ill Defigns of their Enemies. Then making an Ardent Prayer to God, fings the Hymn of the Holy This ani-Ghost in the vulgar Tongue. mates the Affembly with new Zeal and Devotion, they continue to fing and shed Tears in abundance. A great number of Gifpellers come presently into them, and all fer themselves to fing and weep toge-Notice is given, a great Body of Musqueteers were coming to charge them. Instead of being daunted, they take Courage, come down into the Area, leize all the Avenues, and prepare for a Vigorous Defence. There was about twelve Fiundred Horse, and three Hundred Harquebusiers. The People of their Religion in Prague, came on all fides to the Affiftance of their Brethren, so that there was soon about ten Thousand Men differently Armed. There was a Rainbow feen in the South.

South, and the Sun appeared encircled with this new Phenomenon. The vulgar naturally addicted to Superstition, interpret any thing which seems extraordinary, according as their Imagination is more or less heated. And now they conceive great hopes, thinking God has given this as a visible sign of the particular Assistance they had begg'd of him with great Ardour. The chief Persons were desired to return into the Hall of the Assembly, and consider what Methods were to be used. The People promised in the mean time, to guard the Avenues with all possible care.

Rodolphus informed of what had paffed, fent the first Burgrave of Prague, and the chief Officers of his Court to appeale the Tumult. His Imperial Majesty, says the Burgrave in the Hall, cannot imagine for what reason, you have taken Arms. . has always loved you, as his good Subjects. The Emperors Conscience bears him witness, he has faithfully kept his Word in every thing he promised to the States of the Kingdom, and hopes you will not be less steddy in your Fidelity to him. He is disposed to summon a new Meeting, to determine all Difputes which may arise on the Head of Religion, contrary to the Intention of his Ma-Budovitz replied in the name of the rest, that the Gospellers humbly thanked the Emperor for his good Will towards them, and intreated him to believe, they never defign'd an Insurrection against him.

him. We only complain, says he, of certain Persons, who under colour of preserving the Catholick Religion, give his Majesty Advice, which tends to the Subversion of the Government. We hope to make this appear in the next Assembly, which he shall convene. Farther we most humbly intreat his Majesty, the Publication of this Meeting, may be made within three Days. This is the only way to prevent those Accidents, we

have reason to be afraid off.

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The Suspicion which the Gospellers had of the Catholick Party, was the cause of more Commotions; Rodolphus appealed these without much Difficulty, by publishing a Proclamation. In this he own'd, those of the Bohemian Confession, and the Protestants for his good and faithful Subjects, declared that in their Meetings held without his consent, they had no other end than the good of the Kingdom, and his Majesties Service; required all the Deputies to meet in the Castle of Prague, the 25th of May, 1609. and to bring no Soldiers with them, promised on his fide to fend away all those in his Service, that so he might leave the States an entire Liberty to fettle all matters of Religion. The Gospellers had a solemn Thanksgiving, upon the publishing this Proclamation; but their Enemies every day finding new Pretences to hinder the Conclusion of the matter, the Gospellers began to raise Soldiers, and brought them into Prague.

1610. tion if the Trrubles in Bohemia.

All preparations were made for a Ci-The Pacifica- vil War, when at the Intercession of the Elector of Saxony, Rodolphus published a Declaration; That all his Subjects communicating under one or both kinds. should have free exercise of their Religion, and their Service in Bohemian or Highdutch, forbidding the Archbishop of Prague to disturb the Ministers of the other Party in their Worship; That Catholicks and others should equally enjoy the same Privileges; That the Gospellers might build Churches, and found Colleges. This Edict was declared perpetual and irrevocable, and those who broke it, were to be punished as Disturbers of the publick By Virtue of this Grant, the Protestants had the liberty to exercise their Religion in Prague, and the 15th of July, 1609. their Ministers preached publickly in a Church of the Hussites, thut up for a long time before.

None doubted the Jesuits inspired into the Archbishop of Prague, and the other Officers of the Empire the violent Counfels, which caused all the preceding Trou-The Catholicks and Gofpellers, were alike enraged at them. Both parties reunited to prefent jointly an Address to the Emperor. In this they represent, that the Jesuits being very poor when they came into Bohemia, had gained considerable Wealth, and did not contribute at all to the Charges of the State; for this Reason, they did humbly beseech his

Majesty

Majesty to take care, the good Fathers the fould not be exempted more than other Churchmen; and for the future, they fould not receive any thing by Will or Donation, without the express consent of his Majesty.

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The Emperor soon repented of the Trea- A Diet at ty with Matthias his Brother, and de- ir que in manded the Restitution of Austria and Miravia. The Electors and Princes of hat Empire, summon'd to meet at Prague in 1610. came thither to endeavour a Reconciliation between the two Brothers. Besides this, they were to Treat of the Election of a King of the Remans, and determine the Difference about the Succesfion of Cleves and Juliers. The Elector of Cologne, Ferdinand of Austria Archduke of Gratz, and Henry Julius Duke of Brunswick, went to Vienna to confer with the King of Hungary. After a long Negotiation, the two Brothers made a new Treaty. Matthias remained in posfession of what had been given him, and the weak Rodolphus had only some seeming Submiffions, and a fort of annual Tribute of a certain number of Tuns of Wine, and a small sum of Money.

The Diet did not take any Resolution Te Emperor about the Election of a King of the Re- gives the Emans. The Posture of Affairs did not letter of Saxfeem very favourable to the House Att- ony the Coun-Bria. As for the Succession of Cleves and and Juliers. Juliers, the Emperor had a mind to perplex this matter more. The Archduke

Leopold.

Leopold, whose small Army every day received some check from the Troops of the States-General, or of the Confederate Princes, was not strong enough to preserve the contested Countries; Besides Maurice Prince of Orange, prepared in earnest to come and lay Siege to Juliers, with the Auxiliary Troops of France and England. The House of Austria then found it would be impossible for her to refift fo many Powers united to oppose the Usurpation the defigned. The only means she could have recourse to, was to bring the Succession of Cleves and Juliers into the hands of a Protestant Prince, less contrary to her Interests, than those of Brandenburgh and Neuburgh. She cast her Eyes on the Elector of Saxony. His House had pretensions on this Litigious Succesfion, by virtue of feveral Grants of the Emperor. These had lain dormant a long time, though there had feveral times been occasion to have presented them. Daughter Inherited the States of Cleves and Juliers, fince the Emperors had granted the House of Saxony a Right to fucceed in defect of Heirs Male. when a fair Soveraignty is the Subject of Dispute, Princes are not very Scrupulous. The least colour of Right, is enough for them to dispose of it, or reserve it for themselves. Rodolphus then gave on certain confiderations to the Elector, and House of Saxony, all the Estates which belonged

longed to the late John William, Duke of 1610.

Cleves and Juliers.

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This had been a more handsom Pre- The Siege and fent, if when the Act of Concession was taking Juliets put into his Hands, he had at the same Prince of time an Army given him to affert his Orange. Title. Maurice Prince of Orange, invested the Town of Juliers the 28th of July, with the Troops of the United Provinces, join'd by those sent from the King of England. The 18th of August, the Mareschal de la Chatre, brought twelve Thoufand French Foot, and two Thousand Horse. Rauschemberg Governor of the Place, defended it with great Prudence and Courage; But Prince Maurice was fo great a Mafter in the Art of Attacking, and taking Towns, that Rauschemberg Capitulated the 1st of September. Thus Juliers was put into the Hands of the Princes of Brandenburg and Newburg. These were then called the Princes Possessors, to distinguish

After the Surrender of Juliers, fome The Meeting Princes of Germany met at Cologne, to find at Cologne to out fome way of Accommodation. The fairs of Cleves Elector of Triers, and the Count of Ho- and Juliers. benzollern came thither in Quality of

Commissioners for the Emperor. Lewis Landgrave of Hess, made divers Propositions. The Princes in possession, did not care to accept them. They tended to a Sequestration into the hands of the Emperor, and to put the Elector of Saxony in possession of the Litigious Countries,

them from the other Pretenders:

E conjointly

conjointly with the Princes of Brandenburg and Newburg. The French Ambassador proposed another way, which was not liked by the Landgrave, nor the Imperial Commissioners. The German Princes never love that Foreign Soveraigns should meddle too much with the Affairs of the Empire. There was a great number of Writings on the fide of the Possesfors, the Elector of Saxony, and the Commissioners of the Emperor; but they could not come to any Agreement. Affembly broke up, and each one protested for himlelf; he was not the cause that hindred the Troubles from being pacified, This was the better for Brandenburgh and Newburgh. They continued in peaceable Possession of the Countries of Cleves and Juliers, till the Affair should be determi-The Protestant confederated Princes did them yet very good Service, by obliging Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, Head of the Catholick League to Difarm, and the Elector of Collen to put a stop to all Hostilities of his Subjects against those of the Country of Juliers.

The Corenation of Lewis XIII.

The Court of France was then at Rheims, for the Coronation of the young King. The Cardinal of Joycuse representing the Archbishop of the place, performed the Ceremony with the usual Pomp. The Princes of Conde and Conti, the Count of Soissons, the Dukes of Nevers, Elbeuf and Epernon, Represented the ancient Dukes

of Burgundy, Normandy, and Aquitain, and the Counts of Thouloufe, Flanders, and Champagne. It is not needful for me to relate in this place, all the particulars of this long Ceremony, it may be found in There is one thing not to divers places. be forgotten, which well deserves our Attention. Before that which the Credulous People call the Holy Bottle be made use of, the King promises when required by the Prelate who Officiates, to the Bishops and Churches, to preserve their Canonical Priviledges, to make good Laws, to do Justice, to protect his Subjects according to the Obligations of a King to his People. Two Bishops Peers of France after this, ask all present if they receive this Prince for their King, and all the Orders of the Kingdom having given their consent, the Solemn Oath of Inauguration is administred to him. A convincing proof, there is a Reciprocal and Relative Engagement between a Soveraign and his Subjects.

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In an Elective Kingdom, the Subjects Reflections on oblige themselves only to the Prince, who the Coronation is chosen on Conditions mutually agreed on Oath. in the Act of Election. But in an Hereditary State, they stand engaged to him whom they have Elected, and to his Descendants; it being still understood, they thall observe all the Conditions promised by the first of the Royal Family. we fee, why each of these in particular is not received as King, till after the Ratification of the Original Contract made

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with

with him, from whom they derive their Pretentions to the Crown. This Maxim is founded on Divine Right, and Natural The good Frenchmen commonly Joan Gerson believed this in the XV. Century; It is a

Oposculo adver fus adulatores Principum. Confiderat. VIII.

gross Mistake, says one of the most Famous and Pious Writers of the Gallican Church, to pretend that a Soveraign has not contracted any Obligation to his Subjects. In the same manner as by Divine Right. Natural Equity, and by the true end of Government, the latter are bound to continue faithful to, and affift their Prince, so he Reciprocally engaged to be Faithful to them, and protect them. If it shall happen then that a Sovereign shall do manifest Injustices, without having regard the Remonstrances of his Subjects, they have a Liberty to defend themselves according to the Rule of Natural Right, which allows every one to repel Violence with all his Might. Another Divine of Paris, not less Eminent for his Birth, than his rare Learning, faid frankly to Henry II. That his Majesty ought to deteft a Tyrannick Maxim, more fit for a Turk or Tartar Soveraign, than a Chri-

Claude Defpence Inftitution d'un Prince Chretien.

> out Ceremony, calls Dogs and Court-Parasites. To prevent the ill effects of the bad Politicks of the Cardinal Director of the Education

> stian Prince; a Maxim I say, fince received at Court, That the King is Master of the Body and the Goods of his Subjects. The Courtiers who instil'd this, Doctrine into Sovereigns, this Judicious Divine with-

Education of King Lewis the XIV. they printed the same things during the Minority of that Prince. Neither the Bookfeller nor the Author, did dare to fet their Name to it. This Book was writ by a Churchman, Eminent for his Learning and Probity. He fince enjoyed one of the Mr. Jolli first Dignities of the Church of Paris; Chantre de but what was spoken freely to Henry the de Paris II. and what was published covertly about Maximes ve-50 years fince, the French would have ritables & now loft the Memory of, if it were as pour l'instieasie to forget, as it is to be silent, to a- tution du void Danger; all Books of this kind, are Roi. now burnt by the hands of the Hangman. Can those unworthy Magistrates who order this, believe that the flames by confuming of Paper, will erafe out of the Hearts of good Frenchmen, those Sentitiments that right Reason hath deeply inferibid in them?

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The Parlement of Paris on the 26th The Oath day of November, the same year, made a which James Decree for the Suppression of the Trea-thel. King of England retifes which Cardinal Bellarmin a Jefuit had quird of his published, concerning the power of the Pope Popils Subin Temporal Matters; fince this new Book petts caus'd a was a Consequence of the Dispute of the cerning the Author with James the first, King of Great Independance Britain, upon the occasion of the Oath of Sovereignty which that Prince required of the Roman Matters. Catholicks of England: I will in a few words, Relate the beginning and Progress of the Controversie. After the Horrible Gunpowder Plot, King James thought for E 3

in Temporal

his

his own Safety it was necessary to require the English Papists, to take a particular Oath of Allegiance to him. The Form of this was fo ordered, that it might not offend the Conscience of those, who without renouncing their Religion, would pay that duty to their Sovereign, they rightfully ow'd him. In this they acknowledg'd, the Pope had no right to Depole Kings, or dispose of their Kingdoms, or any Foreign Prince to Invade them, or Absolve their Subjects of their Oath of Allegiance, or Command them to take Arms against their Sovereign; they promis'd farther to be faithful to the King, and ferve him, notwithstanding all that the Pope mould attempt against him or his Successors; and to discover all Conspiracies which should come to their Knowledge. They Abjured and Detefted as Impious and Heretical, the Doctrine of those who teach, it is lawful to Depose and Affaffinate Princes, Excommunicated by the Pope; and laftly, they protested they believed, that neither the Pope nor any other power, could dispense with the keeping of their Oath, and Renounced all Dispensations, which the Pope might think fit to give. The thing appear'd reasonable to the English Papists, Nobility, Gentry, Priefts, and all others fwore in this Form. George Blackwell nominated Arch-Priest of England by the Pope, nor content with taking the Oath himself,

himself, wrote in Defence of it against 1610.

all its Oppolers.

The Court of Rome made a quite dif- Paul V. forferent Judgment in the matter. Thinking bids the Eng-Men were not surpriz'd at it ; a Propo- Communion, fition which the makes, one of the Funda- totale the mental Articles of her Religion was here Oath. Rejected, as Impious and Heretical. Whatever be said on this Subject, those who approve the Oath, reason inconsequently, if they own the Pope for the Vicar of Fesus Christ. Paul V. scared at these proceedings of the English Catholicks, without his Knowledge and Consent, sent a Brief immediately, to forbid them to take an Oath Inconsistent, as he said. with the Catholick Faith, and the Salvation of their Souls. These Expressions are as moving and strong, as if he designed to diffwade these poor People from subscribing the most Impious Tenets, against the Divinity of Fesus Christ. This thundering Brief discompos'd them so much, they thought they could not do better then regard it, as Subrepritious or Spurious. His Holiness not being well inform'd of the proceedings in England.

They were not inffered long to remain King James in this voluntary Mistake, Paul soon dis- his Apology patch'd another Brief, to confirm the first. for his Onth, Cardinal Bellarmin was the greatest and sing his Name most eminent Champion of the Pontifical to it. Power, fince the Death of Cardinal Baronius, which happened not long before Bellarmin' E A

1610. Bellarmin I fay, wrote a well studied Letter to Blackwell, to reduce him into the right way. A more passionate Remonstrance could scarce have been made, to one who had renounc'd the Gospel, and embrac'd the Alchoran. This made Fames loose all Patience, he wrote himself to defend his Oath against the two Briefs of the Pope, and the Letter of Bellarmin; and now he did not fet his Name to the Work. Had not a King better forbore Writing at all, and left this care to another? This good Prince own'd himself publickly, that it became a King more to Judge than Dispute. A little made a Cardinal, by blotting of Paper, was not an Adversary worthy of a great Borghese behav'd himself like Monarch. a King, and Fames acted the part of a Doctor; one Commanded, and the other Disputed. Except a Prince then, write as Julius Cafar, or Marcus Aurelius, he is in the wrong to become an Author. Julian was pleas'd to take his Pen to defend his Philosophick Gravity and Religion, and with all his Learning, made himself Contemptible and Ridiculous.

The King of Bellarmin did not fail to reply to the England de-King, but under a borrowed Name. A clares himself Learned Prelate of England, undertook the Apology, to refute the Cardinal; he shewed that to the Prin-before Gregory the VII. no Ecclesiastical cest and States Writer had attempted to maintain the of Christen—Authority of the Pope, over the Temporalities of Sovereigns. The King of Eng-

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LEWIS XIII. Book I.

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land caused another Edition of his Apology to be printed, and declared himself the Author of it. Shall I fay, he thought in this to do himself Honour, by becoming a Champion for the common cause of all Sovereigns, or had a mind to difplay a Learning not very common in Perfons of his Rank? The Work appeared with a very pompous Preface at the Head This was a Manifesto, addressed to all the Kings, Princes, and other Republicks of Christendom, to give an account of his Oath and his Conduct, with regard to his Roman Catholick Subjects. Rouse your selves, it is high time, faid the King to them. The Common Interest of all Sovereigns is concerned, a Formidable and Obstinate Enemy, is undermining the Foundations of your Power, unless you act in Concert, to put a stop to the Progress be makes every Day; your most incontestable Right, will be soon Usurped. He that attacks me to day, will declare himself against you to morrow; should a Wise Man fland with his Arms folded, when his Neighbours House is on Fire. The Advice was wholsom, but his Majesty of Great Britain, had the Diffatisfaction to hear several Catholick Princes did not dare to read his Apology, for fear of giving offence to the Pope. A strange Slavery! Can Policy or Superstition, reduce Princes to so mean a Complaifance; to a Bishop who would have great Honour done him, in leaving him the first Subject of the Empire. E 5

Flenry

1610. Coeffeteau writes against K. James his Apology.

Henry IV. of France, was as weak as the rest. He forbid any Translation should be published of that Book, which his good Ally had fent him. His Care and Orders were ineffectual; the Apology appeared in French, in spite of him. Coeffereau a Religious Dominican, after Bishop of Marseille, an Author who successfully began first to give an Elegance and an Agreeable and Neat turn to the French Language; Coeffetean, I say, was desirous to Signalize himself on this occasion, and so enter the List against a King. This Man was obliged to speak after the manner used in France, and to own the Independance of Sovereigns, in regard of their Temporal Concerns. But the poor Dominican Embarassed himself ter-Indeed, fays he to the King of ribly. Great Britain, If the Catholick Church teacheth this Furious Zeal, if she arms her own Children, against Kings, and puts them on making Attempts against their Lives; the is not only unworthy of their Favours, but deserves to be Exterminated, and her Memory erased by a General Decree of Mankind; but if on the contrary, she condemns all these Attempts as Parricides, if The defires Princes Should fecurely enjoy their Dominions, have their Armies Victorious, an obedient People, a Faithful Counsel, and all Happiness that can be desired; is not her Greatness Harmless, notwithstanding the Rage of some private Persons whom Despair, and not Religion has pushed on to Brutality. She

Book I. LEWIS XIII.

She knows she cannot subsist without the State, that she is born in it, and the State

is her Support.

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The Catholick Church, this is a word strangely Equivocal in France. If it may be allowed to fignifie a certain Number of the most enlightned and sincere Perfons in the Roman Communion, the Author I have just now cited may speak But if by the Catholick Church we must understand, as is more reasonable its Supreme Pastor, the great number of those which fill its chief Dignities, its most Famous Writers: I very much fear, the good Coeffereau has advanced a Notorious Falshood. The Pope and Cardinals gave him the Lye in a very Remarkable manner, the very same year he answered King James. Barclay had wrote against Bellarmine, about the Authority of the Pope, and followed the Principles commonly received amongst the better Men of France. His Book was Condemned at Rome, as well as the Noble History of Mr. De Thou, the Famous Argument of Antony Arnaud, against the Jesuits, and the Sentence it self of the Parlement of Paris, against John Chastel, who had made an Attempt on the Life of Henry IV. That poor Prince was not yet dead. strange Censure which he endur'd so patiently, did it not serve to Animate the Rage of that Wretch, who Affassinated him the year following? If the pretended Head of the Church of Rome, if the Cardi1610.

Cardinals, and the greatest number of its Paftors did not teach this Furious Zeal: If they condemned their Attempts as Parricides, would they have destroyed so many good Books, fo Just and fo Christian a Sentence? Let us then conclude with the Opinion of the Eminent Coeffeteau, The Pope and Cardinals deserve to be exterminated, and their Memory erased by a publick Decree of Mankind. As the Cardinals pretend they are not

Carainal Pel-Emperor and fiver to the King of Eng-Ey.

larmine Ad. Inferior to Crown'd Heads : Bellarmine dreffes to the in the same manner, Addresses to the Em-Emperor and peror, and the Kings who own God for their Poral Commu- Father, and the Catholick Church for their nion, his An- Mother, the Answer which he had some time fince made under a borrowed Name, land's Apolo to the King of Great Britain's Apology. It must not be thought strange, says the Cardinal, that I undertake to refute a King; It is for the Defence of the Faith, I have taken my Pen in hand, after the Example of divers Prelates of Antiquity. Hilary of Poiriers, and Lucifer of Cagliari, have writ against the Heretical Emperor Constantius; Gregory Narianzen, and Cyrill of Alexandria; have Encountred Julian the Apostate. This did James the first draw on himself from a Priest, for turning Controvertist without necessity. had contented himself with publishing a Manifesto, to prove the Justice of the Oath he required of his Popish, Subjects, he would have embarass'd the Court of Home, and its Advocates. But he labourd

Book I. LEWIS XIII.

to shew the Pope was Antichrist, and that Rome is the Seat of the Son of Perdition. Was not this a way to please the Sovereigns of the Popes Communion, by furnishing them with a pretence for not receiving kindly the Kings Apology, and

applauding the Cardinals Answer,

The Dispute stopt there; Bellarmine A Deeree of fet himself to reply to Barclay. This Man the Parlement had refuted what the Cardinal advanced of Poris, aconcerning the Authority of the Pope, in Trestife of the first Volume of his Controversies. Bellarmine, of The Magistrates opposed the printing of the Pope. them at Paris, and the first Sheets which were work'd of, were Suppressed by order of the Solicitor General. As soon as they had notice of the New Book which Bellarmine had published, of the Authority of the Pope in Temporal Matters, Servin Advocate General moved the Parlement, to provide against any Mischiefs which the Publication of fo ill a Book might cause. This Magistrate urged the Duty of his Place, obliged him not to be less Diligent or Zealous for the Service of his Mafter, than Peter de Cugnieres, and John le Cooq his Predecessors had been; the one in the Reign of Philip of Valois, and the other in that of Charles the VI. Farther he alledged, the late proceedings of the King of Spain and his Officers, against that Volume of the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, wherein the Monarchy of Sicily is attacked. The Chambers meeting upon the occasion of this Remonstrance,

Work to be Supprest; let us now see what was done this year in Spain against Baronius.

An Editt of the King of Spain, againft the XI. Volume of the Ecclefiaftical Aumals of Cardimal Baronius.

The Kings of Sicily have for a long time, been the only Popes of this little Kingdom. By Virtue of a certain Bull which Pope Urban the Second granted, fay they to Roger Count of Sicily, and his Successors, the Sovereign, is Legatus Natus or Born Legat of the Holy See. His Spiritual Power is so great, that he Excommunicates and Absolves by himself. or his Magistrates all Laymen and Ecclefiafticks, Bishops and Cardinals themselves. residing in his Kingdom. This Right, fay they farther, though derived from the Holy See, is now Irrevocable, it is the Sovereigns Property. Thus the King of Spain is alikelin Spirituals and Temporals. and has the same Right there, as the Pope has in Countries under his Obedi-Foan the foolish Mother of Charles V. and divers other Princesses who Reigned alone Sicily, every one of these Ladies were Sanctissimo Padre. This Title was given them, and their Magistrates. They might in this Quality prefide in Provincial and National Councils, or fubstitute others in their Room. The Kings of Spain are so jealous of this rare Prerogative, that in the Reign of Charles V. a Vice-Roy of Sicily Collected all the Titles and Acts which serve for the Justification of it. Three Authentick Copies

of this Collection were drawn at the 1611. fame time, by order of the Viceroy. In the year 1698. one was exposed to Sale in London; it had been brought away the last time Barcelona was taken by the French, I had it a pretty while in my Hands. The Right Reverend the Bishop of Norwich, curious in all good Books, did not purchase it too dear, considering the rarity of the Manuscript. This is a Collection like that of the Proofs of the Liberties of the Gallican Church. It contains chiefly divers Judgments given in the Tribunal, commonly called of the

Monarchy of Sicily.

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The Cardinal Baronius in the eleventh Tome of his Annals, vigorously Attacked this Spiritual Power, which the Catholick Kings ascribe to themselves without Scruple. A Right never heard of, fays the Cardinal, A Right that Frederick the Second, and his Children, those unjust Tyrants and Rebellious Persecutors of the Roman Church, never were so Audacious as to u-This caused a great Contest between Baronius and the Cardinal Colonna, who pretended his Brother had no Reafon to fet himself so violently against the King of Spain. The Court of Madrid was so displeased at the Author of the Annals, that she procured him to be excluded in a Conclave, where he had 37 Voices. At last upon the 3d of October, 1610. Philip III. published an Edict, where after great Complaints made against the Invectives of Baronius,

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and a long Enumeration of the Services which the Kings of Spain and Sicily his Predecessors had done for the Church of Rome, he forbids his Subjects on severe Penalties, to Read or Sell the Eleventh Volume of Baronius Annals, till the place Repugnant with the Monarchy of Sicily was Expunged.

Servin knew very well the example of the King of Spain, was of great weight with Mary de Medicis, who every day contracted new Tyes to Philip; he hoped this would hinder the Regent from taking exception at the Proceedings of the Parlement against Bellarmine's Book. The Advocate General was deceived in his Conjecture. The Queen was not less devoted to the Court of Rome, than that of The Nuncio in Spain, did not dare to open his Mouth against the Edict of Philip. The Popes Agent was bolder, and more Successful in France. At his Sollicitation, the Regent ordered the Execu ion of the Decree of Parlement against Bellarmine's Book, to be Superseded. The Enemies of the Sovereign Power of Kings, ever had Liberty of Speaking and Writing.

Differences of the Marquifi of Aucre, with the isfons, and Dpke of Epernon,

The Marquels of Ancre a Favourite of Mary's, 'began to be insupportable to the Princes, and first Lords of the Court. count of So- In the Kings Journey to Rheims, the Servants of the Machioness had some Contest with those of the Cardinal Foyeuse about Lodgings. Conchini made first Gentleman of the Chamber, had likewise a Dispute

Book II. LEWIS XIII.

Dispute about the Precedence with Belle- [1610. garde, Great Esquire at the Publick Entry of the King into Paris, on his return from his Inauguration. The Duke of Epernon, a Kinfman of Bellegarde declared against Conchini; and the Count of Soif- Mem. de la Jons enraged at him, for affifting the Duke Regence de of Guise to marry the Dowager of Mont- Medicis. pensier, would not any more speak to the Marquess of Ancre. The Enmity of two fuch powerful Men, made him very uneasie: He labour'd to be reconciled to them. Soissons was not very averse to this, but he required the Marquess and his Wife should serve him in two Things, which he paffionately defired; to marry the Count of Enghien his Son to the Princess Heiress of Montpensier, and to ruine the Duke of Sully.

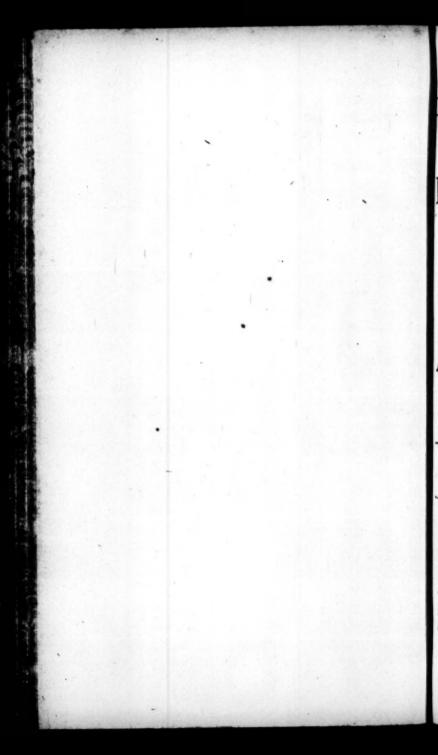
For the first Proposition, the Marquess Their Reconct delivered himself in General Terms, to those who were concerned in this Accommodation. He spoke more positively on the Article of the Duke of Sully, in case the Ministers would fide with him. Conchini did not love the Duke. He was afraid the Interest of an Old Minister, might be an Obstacle to his growing Favour. Nevertheless the Count of Soiffons did not dare to conclude this Reconciliation, till the Duke of Epernon was satisfied. It was not so easie to bring down his Haughty and Stubborn Spirit, who pretended to be his own Support, independently on all Favourites. Epernon required, Conchini should

should come to him, and make him Sahin tisfaction in the presence of the Count of ha Soissons. He, blown up with his Favour Thank New Honour, refused that Submission to the Duke, which he could without he meanness make to a Prince of the Blood income meanness make to a Prince of the Blood not Soissons found an Expedient, which migh not be a Salvo for the Nicety of the one, and blis satisfie the Haughty Humour of the other Con the President Jeannin had presented Completed in the Count; after those Completed ments had passed, which were agreed of my before, the two New Friends sate down to play together. The Game being over and to play together. The Game being over and the is not enough says Soissons to the Mar Reagues, that we are Reconciled. You must be have a right understanding with all my gow him Friends. I am going to make a visit to one of them, I beg your Company. I am distant posed to do what you please, replyed Conchin sully They were soon at the Hôtel of Epenoy is non; all things were carried there to thouse content of both Parties. That which task looks on as a Trisse amonst Private Men Margasses for a weighty Matter with great Poones. ones. one (

A Party foragainst the Duke of Sully.

There was no need to take much pain med at Court to gain the Ministers over to act in Con cert with the others, to ruine the Duke Sully. He had a Misunderstanding with Villeroy, the only Man of their Number who had taken pains to keep him in En ploy. Sharp and Affronting words pa fed between them in the Council, in the Queens Presence. Villeroy who though himle

himself to be the more necessary, and to have the better Interest, leaves the Court. This was a fort of Menace, that he would not return as long as Sully had a share in the Government. The Regent her self was nclin'd to dismis him. A Protestant could not be very grateful to a Princess, who blindly followed the Impressions of the Court of Rome. Mary disliked too the Auter Humour of the Duke, who would not all to oppose her excessive Expences, and Imprudent Liberalities. The fear of causing Murmurs amongst the Protestants, in distarding a Lord of their Religion without Reason, possibly would have restrain'd he Queen, and defeated the Cabals against im. But they reckoned upon the Interest of the Mareschal of Bouillon, with the Party. He mortally hated the Duke of fully; and the Prince of Conde tempted by the Confiscation of the Estate of a Superintendant, which Bouillon made him aft his Eyes on, Declines interceding for Man whose Plunder would enrich him, Mem du Due Powerful Spur to make a Prince Act, says de Rohan, one of the Wisest Men of that Time.



HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF
LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Navarre.

BOOK II.

on the Exercise of his New place of The Quarrel first Gentleman of the Chamber. Bel- of Bellegarde legarde who had served the preceding and Conchivear in the same Quality, was loath to nileave the Apartment in the Louvre appointed for him, who served in that Quality.

The

The Marquess of Ancre having already jos Lodgings in the Louvre, upon the account of his Wife; but the latter had not respect enough for him, to give him any thing which of Right belonged to himself. The Key of the Apartments was demanded of Bellegarde. Divers prerences were no found to defer this. The Marquess of fin Ancre tired with these affected Delays, she demands it himself of the Great Esquire, in the Queens Closet. Upon a positive re Refusal, several Affronting Words past on th both fides, Conchini did not want Cou-ly rage. He goes out of the Louvre, to avoid a Prohibition of Fighting, and with
a Design to demand the Reason of the Affront and Wrong, Bellegarde had done if him.

This Quarrel made a great noise at his Memoirs de Court, every one followed that fide his of de Marie de Passion or Interest led him to. The Count w Medicis. of Soissons, and old Friend of the Great Esquires, forgot all his New Ties to the D Marquels of Ancre. He threatned Conchini to drive him from Court, and his his Passion of which he seldom was Master, ro had Transported him farther, if the Mar-quess de Coeuvres his Consident, had not ftopt him. Is this the way you take, said the Marquess to him, to compass your Defign of Marrying your Son to the Prin-cess of Montpensier, and ruine the Duke of se Sully your Enemy, to quarrel with the Queen and her Creatures? Bellegarde is con your Friend, but, the Duke of Guise whom D

you

1011 don't Love; has he not contracted an Alliance with this Gentleman, by Marrying the Dowager of Montpensier, his near Kinswoman? Do you think for the future. your Interests will be dearer to Bellegarde. . than those of the House of Guise; if you have e no Consideration for Conchini, at least confider your felf. The Count began to reflect a little, when a Gentleman came to tell Coeuvres, the Marquels of Ancre delie red to have some Discourse with him in n the Hôtel d'Etrees. Coeuvres go's inftantly, exhorts Conchini to consent to an Ac-- comodation. Monfieur the Prince, and the Duke of Epernon have offer'd me their Mediation, says the Marquess of Ancre, but e e if it comes to that, Monsieur the Count will be more grateful to me. Coeuvres made this Advantage of this Offer. The Count s of Soiffons valued it as a piece of Merit with the Queen, to accommodate a Quarrel which gave her Majesty some Disturbance.

Conchini thought himself extreamly ob- The Count of liged to the Count, for having fo dexte- Soiffons r, rously managed his Honour; Full of Gra-quarrels with the Cardinal titude the Marquels of Ancre promised of Joyeuse, So: fons to labour effectually to procure and the Duke the Marriage of Mr. of Enghien with of Eperno. the Rich Hieress of Montpensier, and to min the Duke of Sully. The Queen confented in effect to the two Propositions. which the Ministers and Marquels of Anere strenuously pleaded for; But when the Duke of Epernon, and the Cardinal of Foycufe.

Foyeuse came to understand the Queen disposed of their grand Niece without their consent, they complained to her Majesty, the had not Communicated to them a Matter which concerned them fo nearly. Farther they made great Complaints, that the Count of Soiffons had flighted them in carrying on a Matter of that kind with the Regent, without their Privity. This Prince full of Life, but very Indiscreet, took aPique very unseasonably against two Persons, whom he sought to engage in his Interefts. Endeavours were used for ah Accommodation, but all in vain. Soiffons was too passionate, and Epernon too haughty. The late King had defigned the Princess of Montpensier for the Duke of Orleans his second Son, and had decla- I red this only to the Cardinal Joyeuse, and h the Duke of Epernon; otherwise the Match would have been agreeable to the ti Niece and the Uncles. But how could V they prefer the last Prince of the Blood, the to the first Son of France. The young you Duke of Orleans died the 17th of Novem- pa ber this year. In default of him, the bi Princess of Montpensier was desired for Se Gaston Duke of Anjou, third Son of Hen- th ry IV.

A Quarrel be: ween the Count of Soillons with the Psince of Contilis Brether.

The Count of Soiffons had the beginning of this year two Notorious Quar- ha rels, one with the Prince of Conti his to Brother, and the other with the Duke of Sh Guise. Three days after the Marriage of Co this latter with the Dowager of Mont- the

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pensier, the Prince of Conti going in the Evening to the Louvre in his Coach, met near the Croix du Tiroir, the Count of Soissons, who likewise was in his. There being a stop in the Street, it was necesfary one of the two Coaches should put back, to make way for the other. Counts Gentleman began to be rough, and without observing the Liveries, to use Threats, and command the Princes Coachman to put back immediately. Conti's Men would not yield, bid the Coachman drive on, and fear nothing. The Count of Soiffons then faw it was his Elder Brother in the Coach, he instantly fent to make excuses for the Indiscretion of his Gentleman. They protested to the Prince in the Name of the Count, this happened by Accident, and not by Defign. The weak Conti was not contented with the Deference which Soissons paid him. d When a Man has little Merit, he eafily d, thinks he is despised. To Mon. so with g your Sword drawn, cries the Prince, as he paffed by his Brothers Coach. To stiffe ne brutally for a small point of Honour, all or Sense of Religion and Nature, was this the way to make himself less contemptible?

The Regent being informed of what The two Prinr- had happened, prays the Prince of Conde ces are reconof She sends the Duke of Guise whose Sister of Conti had Married, to dispose his Broat-ther-in-Law to receive the Excuses that

Soiff.ns

Soissons made him. Conde and Guise go the same day to the Abby of St. Germain des prez, where the Prince of Conti's Refidence was. Whether the Duke had a mind to shew the Princes of the Blood, and his New Wise, that the House of Guise, was not less considerable now, than in the preceding Reigns, or whether it was mere Accident; he went from the Hotel of Montpensier, where he was at that time, attended with an Extraordinary number of Gentlemen on Horseback, to Visit the Prince of Conti, and did not decline passing by the Hotel of Soissons in this mighty

Pomp.

In his Return from the Abby of St. Germain, Guise met the Prince of Conde going thither with only four or five Horfemen following him. They Saluted each other; the Duke told Conde, that the Prince of Conti was well disposed, and had promifed things should not go farther. If your Highness will give me leave, added the Duke of Guise, I will return back and have the Honour to Accompany you to Monfieur the Prince of Conti, and put him in mind of his Promise to me. Conde did not care to accept this Civility of Guise, the Train of one was too different from that of the other; the Prince would have appeared to have done the Duke honour in a day of Triumph. The Chevalier of Guise, Brother to the Duke, left the Company, and followed the Prince of Conde to the Abby of St. Germain. Conti repeated

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ed to his Nephew the Assurances he had 1611. given his Brother-in-Law, and this Difference was ended.

The Duke of Guise only pretended, Another great faid he, to perswade the Prince of Conti Difference benot to break in such a manner with his count of So-Brother. In the mean time he made him-iffons, and felf work with the Count of Soiffons, the Duke of Guise, cryed they, at the Hotel of Soilfons, had with him a Hundred and Fifty Horse armed, and fit to Fight. It was not without Design, that he affected to pass by this House. He would buff the Princes of the Blood; thinks he to awe us, and shew us, that if the House of Guise should take part with the Prince of Conti their Kinfman, ours would be far inferior. The Count of Soiffons Jealous of the great Advantages which the Heirels of Foiense brought into an Enemies House, believed all these Reports. The Prince of Conde perhaps vext that the Duke of Guise had made a far better appearance in the Eyes of the People, than himself, fell into the same Sentiments, and drew in the Constable of Montmorency, who still remembred the old Jars between the Mareschal his Brother, and the Guifes. The crowd of Lords and Gentlemen which came in on all fides to the Hôtel of Guise, served very much to Exasperate the two Princes, and the Con-The World was amazed to fee Mem. de the Grand-children of the Admiral of Bestompierre Coligny, the Dukes of Sully and Roban, mercure! the Mareschal of Bouillon, and the most 1611. Lor C. confide

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considerable of the Protestant Party, forget the bloody day of St. Bartholomew, and go to offer their Services to the Children of Balastre, against the Son of the brave Lews, Prince of Conde.

The Regent and the Ministers feared, this Affair would have troublesome Confequences. Orders were given to the Inhabitants of the parts of the City, which were nearest the Louvre to be Armed, the Chains were ready to be put cross the Streets, in case there should be need, and the Mareschal of Brisac was sent to the Count of Soiffons, to hinder him from coming out of his House. The Marquess of Vitry Captain of the Guards, had order to continue near the Duke of Guife, and his Brethren. Soiffons was not denyed Permission to speak to the Queen, but Guise did not obtain the same Favour. A flight Distinction to content the Nicety of the Princes of the Blood.

When the Council came to consider of a way to put an end to this New Difference, the Constable demanded Justice of the Queen against the Duke of Guise, who had Insulted, said he, the Count of Soissons, by passing by his House with a hundred and fifty Horse. The Duke of Sully strenuously defended Guise. Was it an Offence, replied he, to Monsieur the Count, to pass by his House. Was not this the Dukes way to discharge the Order her Mijesty had given him, to treat with Monsieur the Prince of Conti; Divers of

his Friends and Servants Accompanied him. There was no Design in this. A great deal of Company went to Complement the Duke on his Marriage; They followed him to the Abby of St. Germain, was this fuch an extraordinary Matter. Princes and Lords come every day to the Louvre, attended with such Gentiemen who have a Re-Spelt for them. The Duke is Counts Humble Servant. He is disposed to give the Princes of the Blood, what is due to their Birth. Monfieur the Count would have had a proof of this, if he had met the Duke in his way. What more can be required of Monsieur, the Duke of Guile. The Mareschal of Bouillon, and the Duke of Epernon, confirmed what the Duke of Sully faid.

The Regent fent to ask whether the The Reconcile-Count of Soiffons was fatisfied with the ment of the Excuses made for the Duke of Guise. Ve- Duke of Guise. ry far from accepting them, he denyed of Soiffons. Admittance to four of the Council, upon the score they were Friends of, and Related to the House of Guise. Nothing but a Treaty would ferve; the Duke of Guife tired with his long Confinement to his House, consented to Visit the Count of Stiffons, and make very humble Excuses. to him. But the Duke of Mayenne Uncle of Guise, laying before him the Consequences of a Step, which gave so many Advantages to the sworn Enemies of their. House; he recalled his word. Soissons was extremely moved at this, he threat-F 3

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ned the Regent to leave Paris, if he had not that Satisfaction given him which had been promised. However he was perswaded to content himself with the Duke of Mayenne's, making Excuses to the Queen for the Duke of Guise's marching through the Streets of Paris, with so great a number of Horse. Monsieur of Guise, fays the Duke of Mayenne, never designed to cause any Disturbance; be would sooner die, than do any thing Displeasing to your Majesty. For Mons. the Count of Soifsons, our House will always preserve that Deference and Respect is due to him. When Monsieur the Count will please to be reconciled to Messieurs of Guise, they will not fail to Honour him, and be his Humble Servants.

The Queen replyed, she would acquaint the Count of Soiffons, what the Duke of Mayenne had faid; I will Speak to him, said the, to forget what is past, and content himself with this Satisfaction. The Prince of Conde on the Queens part went to his Uncle, and told him, her Majesty wished things might stop there. The Count of Soiffons promised to . conform himself to her Pleasure. Mayenne by his Address and Resolution, had brought his Nephew with Honour in a very Nice case, if it be true that the Duke of Guise had no ill design; yet he made an Oftentation, which might well give Umbrage to the Princes of the Blood.

In vain did the Duke of Sully thus meanly make his Court to the Guises. They The Duke of would not hinder the accomplishing the Sul'y's Dis-Defign on foot, to ruin him; their grace. Party indeed made a Mien, as if they would Combine to oppose the Ruine of one, who had taken pains to very good purpose to serve them; but the contrary Cabal, was too Powerful and Zealous. Perhaps too, the House of Guise were not very Solicitons at Bottom, to Support a Protestant Lord whom the Courts of Rome and Madrid were diffatisfied to fee in the chiefest Employs. The Marquiss of Ceuvres was the Man whom the Enemics of the Duke made use of to found the true Sentiments of Mareschal of Bouillon in this matter of Sully. The Interest of their Religion ought to have united these Protestant Lords. Its Preservation depended in part, on a good Understanding between them; but Courtiers never think of this. Sully descrives the worst that can befall him, says the Mareschal, However I ought not to appear among those who declare against him. It concerns me very much, that those of our Religion should not Reproach me with removing a Man, who is necessary to them in the post he is in. If Bouillon would feriously have avoided that Reproach, should he have join'd himfelf to the Count of Soiffons ? The World faw plainly, the poor Duke of Sully was the Sacrifice in his Reconciliation:

The

The Prince of Conde and the Count of Soiffons, joyntly demanded of the Regent to have him removed. Her Majesty readily granted a thing she defired, no less than they. To keep fair with the Hugonot Party, who must think it strange Mary should so soon take away the Rewards Sully had deserved by his good Services to the late King. They gave out, and would make Sully himself believe, it was his defire to have his Ease. The Regent civilly offer'd him a Sum of Money for the Government of the Bastile, which she took away from him at the same time with the place of Superintendent of the Finances. The Duke was very much surprized to fee himself taken at his Word, upon General Complements made to the Queen. He had protested upon some Occasions to her Majesty, that she might dispose of all that he had. I did not think, faid Sully, that such Offers made to ones Prince, were Crime enough to forfeit ones Places. I have now learnt this new Maxim, but I do not repent of having done my Duty.

The Duke shewed great Constancy in his Adversity, and was Skillful enough to conceal his inward Disturbance. He writ a Letter to the Queen, which was filled with fine Thoughts; was not this a Noble Effort of the secret Pride of his Heart, to seek thus to repair his Losses, by making himself Admired. Perhaps he thought he should perswade the World, he deserved those Places, which he could

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Mercure François, 1611.

quit with so much equality of Mind : nd 1611. Difinterestedness. This Greatness of Mind would have appeared less affected, if he had not made a long Enumeration of the Services he had done for the late King. This was Reproaching his Widow, he might talk plaufibly, how that without encreafing, nay, by leffening the Excises and Duties, he had paid the immense Debts of his Master, had put the Finances in a good Method, subfilted three great Armies, amassed seventeen Millions in ready Money; the People could not believe him in his Word. Fifty four Edicts revoked in the beginning of this Reign, were a proof the Superintendent had not yet found the secret to enrich the Prince, and at the same time to ease his Subjects.

The Duke retired to his Castle of Sully The first Proon the Loire; no Superintendent was put light de Harin his Room. The Presidents Feannin, Place. de Chateauneuf, and de Thou, were named A Cabal to for Directors of the Finances. De Thou hinder Mr. de declined this Employ; this did not fuit succeeding with a Magistrate so Upright, so Zea- him. lous for the publick good, and so great a Lover of all good Learning. The Place of first President of the Parliament of Paru, was more worthy of his Noble Ambition. Christopher de Thou his Father, had filled it with a mighty Reputation. His Memory would have been Irreproachable, if the necessity of excusing his Mafter, had not forced him to feek out for

1611. frivolous pretences, to give colour to that cruel Maffacre of St. Bartholomew, which this Wife Magistrate abhorr'd in his Heart. Achilles de Harlay succeeded him in the most unhappy and difficult Time, that ever was. All Men still speak with Honour of the Integrity, Justice, and Affability of that great Man. All good Frenchmen cannot forget the Services he did for his Country, when the was almost op-

prest by the Efforts of the League.

la Regence de Marie de Medicis.

Worn out with Age and Labour, he Memoires de desired to lay down his Office. All Honest Men wished to see James Augustus de Thou, in the Place his Father had formerly been, but the Regent too much depended on the Pope. The Knowledge and Moderation of so Learned a Magistrate, did not fuit with the Interest of Rome, befides the Jesuits had too important Business to Sollicit in the Parlement of Paris. They did not care a Man who was not less acquainted than his Brother-in-Law had been, with the fecret defigns of the Society, should preside in the determining the Processthey had against the University of Paris. Condé who had great Obligations to the President de Thou, promised to affift him in his Pretentions to a Dignity, justly due to his Merit and Services. But the Weak and Ungrateful Prince, had not the Courage to oppose a Cabal of Bigots. Villeroy made his Advantage of this Opportunity, he procured Verdun his Kinsman to be preferr'd, who ought to have been content with feeing

ing himself at the Head of the Parlement 1611.

of Touloufe.

Some few days before his Refignation, La d'Escou-Harlay had prefided in the Sentence against man accuses La d'Escouman. This Creature it is said, of Vernueil, did not want either Wit or Address. But and the Duke her lewd Life ought to have taken away of Eperson, the Credit of her Evidence, if all con- feeing concerned in Villanies, were not of necessity Murther of Scandalous Persons. It is not known who Henry IV. put d'Escouman upon presenting her self to Queen Margaret, whom she was known to, and discovering to her, that the Duke of Epernon and the Marquise of Vernueil had suborned Ravaillac. Whether Margaret was in a Combination to ruine these two Persons, or was afraid of ill Consequences, if the did not give notice of what the heard to the Court; the Princess sent to let the Regent know, that La d'Escoum in had great things to Reveal. Some Perfons were ordered to go to the Hôtel of Queen Margaret. They conceal themfelves in an adjoyning Closet, while the Princess makes la d'Escouman repeat with

a loud Voice, what she had said. Margaret testified the Woman did not vary, but repeated Word for Word before to

her, what they had now heard.

Upon the Report made to the Regent, Sheis Comher Majesty ordered her Letter Patents to demned,
be dispatched for the Parlement of Paris,
to take cognizance of this New Affair.

La d'Escouman being examined by the first
President de Harlar, accuses two Persons,

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one of which had been Valet de Chambre, to the Marquels d'Entragues. These Men are Seized, Examined, thrown into a Dungeon, confronted with d'Escouman, who affirms peremptorily, all was true the had charged them with. Farther the declares, the Marchionels of Vernueil had fent Ravaillac to her with a Letter for one Madamoiselle du Tillet; and that in her Presence, du Tillet had spoke to Ravaillac, to Affaffinate the late King. But the Evidence so ill maintain'd her Charge, was so deficient in describing the Person of the Murtherer, and faid so many things directly false, that no Credit was given to her Depositions. The two Prisoners were acquitted, and la d'Escouman condemned to close Imprisonment for the rest of her Life.

Refoliens on

The care taken to confine this Wretched Woman, and the keeping her Examination so private, gave occasion for divers Suspicions, and many Reflections. was pretty commonly believed, Perfons of Eminent Quality had a share in this Mystery of Iniquity, and it was not judg'd convenient to disclose it. Some pretended this was only done to spare the Reputation of certain Persons of the first Rank, who had made this use of la d'Escouman, to ruine their Enemies. So il and revengeful a Woman as la Vernueil, faid they, may well enough be guilty of a great Crime. But is it to be believed, the Queen who mortally hates the Marchiones, would

would spare ber. Could she ever find a '1611. fairer opportunity to revenge the frequent Disquiets, which the ill Nature and Raillery of a Rival had given her. The Duke of Epernon's Interest, added some Judicious Men, could never stifle this Matter. He has powerful Enemies at Court. The Prince of Conde, and the Count of Soissons, declare openly against him. The Mareschal de Bouillon, and the Marquess of Ancre strictly tied together, seek to remove and ruine him. If any one reflect on the Conduct of the Duke of Epernon, his Humour and Inclinations; he will not appear capable of so black an Attempt. And if he had Malice enough to conceive it, is he so void of Common Sense to trust this in the Hands of a Fool, as Ravaillac was? In Short, if be Suborned the Affaffin, would be have taken pains to keep bim from being killed on the spot, as James Clement was. The Duke of Epernon faid, some who were the most prejudiced against him, could not be called to an Account, without bringing in the Queen, whom he ferved in it. Doubtless faid others to them, it would be much fafer and easier to have poison'd the King, than to depend upon a Blow of that Importance, on such a Fellow as Ravaillae was.

There was a greater Division in the Court of Prague, than that of Paris, and the Princes of the House of Austria in Germany, lived in a more visible Misunderstanding, than the Princes of the Blood

in France. The Emperor Rodolphus had 1611. three Brothers, Matthias, Albert, and The first had forced from Maximilian. his Elder Brother the Kingdom of Hungary, and the greatest part of what the House of Austria calls her Hereditary Countries. Albert lived contented with the Provinces of the Low Countries, which the Infanta Isabell brought to him in Marriage; and Maximilian having long agoe relinquished his Pretentions to the Kingdo n of Poland, which he disputed with Sigismund King of Sweden, led a quiet Life with Matthias King of Hungary. These four Brothers had two Cousin Germans, Children of Charles, Brother to the Emperor Maximilian II. The small Country of Gratz in Stiria, did not satisfie the Ambition of Ferdinand, the Eldest of this second Branch of that House, and Leopold the younger Brother, defired something more than the Bishopricks of Strasburg and Passau. Rodolphus and his Brothers had no Children; this gave their Cousins mighty Hopes, but as yet they

of Austria, and might leave Heirs.

Ferdinand Wisely concealed his vast Ambition, he seemed contented with managing the Pope, and keeping a strict Correspondence with Spain, and seemed willing to wait patiently for a more favourable Opportunity, to obtain the Succession of his Cousins. All Menlooked on

were a great way off. The King of Hungary this year, Married Ann Archdutchels

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the Emperor as a dead Man. The Courts 1611. of Rome and Madrid were not very well fatisfied, that Matthias kept fair with the Protestants, which he did to prevent being opposed by them, when there should be a Debate about chusing a Successor to his Brother. Perhaps too his Inclination led him to follow the steps of Maximilian II. a very Wife and Moderate Prince. He had had a good Opinion of the Proteflant Religion, and it is thought would have embraced it, if he had not met with Obstacles from Ferdinand the I. and the Court of Rome. The Emperor his Father pressed by the Pope, threatned Maximilian to Disinherit him; but if the Son had shewn greater Resolution, the Father would have found it no easie Matter to have made fuch an Exclusion valid. I very much doubt, if he would have dared to attempt it. Ferdinand Archduke of Gratz, was very far from this Moderation of Maximilian. He was violent against the Protestants, to a prodigious degree. The Jesuits and Ignorant Monks, who had too great Influence on the Councils of this Prince, and his Descendants, kept him in this extravagant Bigotry, flattering him with the Affiftance of the Pope, and King of Spain to obtain the Empire, even whilst those of the Elder Branch were yet alive.

Bohemia.

1611. The Archduke Leopold had no less Am-The Ambitibition, but was still more impatient, vext ous Defigns of to see himself reduced to live on his Be-Leopold of nefices, and to find his mighty Defigns Austria Bi-Shop of Strason the Countries of Cleves and Juliers burg, and Patlaw on the prove Abortive; he resolved to take his Advantage of the Weakness of Rodolphus, Kingdom of and to make himself King of Bohemia, to the prejudice of Matthias, to whom that Crown was promised, after the Emperors Decease. Leopold had raised a small Army with the confent of Rodolphus, under colour of keeping Juliers against the Confederate Princes. The Town being taken by the Brave Maurice of Orange, the Arch-duke kept his Troops in his Bishoprick of Passau, with an intention to employ them in some greater and more profitable Work.

Romeo their General, as Active and Stirring as Leopold, perswaded him to treat with his Friends in the Court of Prague, and the Roman Catholicks in Bohemia, who could not endure to fee the Gospellers enjoy the free use of their Re-Leopold designed in the first place, to make an Alteration in the Government of Prague, and Expel divers Lords of the Emperors Council, who were in the King of Hungary's Interests; the thing did not seem practicable in a free Country, as that of Bohemia was. There was a Neceffity for him to content himself with gaining over the Catholick Party, chiefly the Churchmen and Monks, by giving

giving them hopes that if Leopold should 1611. enter Prague by force of Arms, he would oblige the Emperor to revoke the Edict in favour of the Gospellers. The Jesuits were the most forward to favour the Defigns of Leopold; they filled their Colledge with Canon, Arms, and Ammunition, to make use of in case there should be occasion.

Leopolds Army was compos'd of nine Leopold's Thousand Foot, and four Thousand Horse. Troops march They marched strait towards Austria, under the Command of Romeo, who found the means to help the Soldiers to Money; in their way they plundered divers confiderable Castles. King Matthias being unprovided to refift, was very much alarmed. He writ to his Subjects and Friends to come immediately to his Aid. In the mean time Romeo passes the Danube, ravages whereever he comes, marches into Bobemia, under pretence of exacting those Subsidies the Emperor had promised Leopold, for the Subfiftence of his Troops. He took two or three important Places, and Leopold joined him when he was at the Gates of the Capital. The States of the Countries amazed at these Motions. prepar'd for a Defence. The Gospellers appear'd more active and warm, than the rest; they were afraid to fall under the Government of one of the House of Gratz. But it was not possible to hinder Leopold from entring into a third part of the Town, which is called the little Prague.

other Quarters which they call the Old and New Prague, defended themselves so vigorously, that Leopold could not make himself Master of them.

Matchiasking of Hungary, Marches to the Affiftance of Bohemia.

During the Confusions which Accidents of this Nature must needs cause, in a Town divided into two Factions, Violent against each other, Rodolphus remained in his Castle, contented with commanding both Parties by a Herald, to lay down their Arms, he seemed to stand Neuter. His old Piques against his Brother, made him encline to Leopold, who feized on the Castle, and was declared Lieutenant General for the Emperor. The King of Hungary had at that time a Difpute with Gabriel Battori, Prince of Transilvania. He chose rather to give up his Pretentions, than to have Bohemia taken from him. Behold him then, at the Head of an Army of eighteen Thousand Men. Leopold and Romeo make a quick Retreat to the Frontiers of Bohemia, as soon as they are informed Matthias was enter'd into the Kingdom; too fortunate in carrying off their Booty, and two Hundred Thousand Florens, which the Emperor gave them. The King of Hungary being come to Prague, the States of the Country received him with all poffible Magnificence.

Matthias is After some of Rodolphus his Counsellors Crowned King were clapt into Prison, and others forced of Bohemia. to fly, it was no hard Matter to make

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Rodolphus confentto a Demise of the Kingdom of Bohemia, in favour of his Bro-This poor Prince had very good Conditions in appearance made for him, at the Solicitation of the Elector of Saxony, who always was a Friend to the House The States of Bohemia too, of Austria. proposed theirs to the New King, for the fecuring the Privileges of the Kingdom, and Liberty of Conscience. The City of Prague made some separate Stipulations, and particularly that the Ecclefiaftical Jurisdiction should be restrained, and the Abuses of it corrected. After Marthias had been Solemnly Crowned at Prague, the 23d of May, by the Cardinal Ditrechstein, an Agreement was made with Leopold, who ftill had divers Important Places in his Hand. He promised to quit these, upon the payment of a certain Sum of Money. In Conclusion; the King of Hungary and Bohemia, having agreed to some Articles for a perfect Reconciliation with the Emperor, he went to Breslau; his Defign was to go and take Possession of Silesia, which had likewise been given up to him. The Bishop of the City, the Lords and States of the Province, took an Oath of Fidelity to him, and he likewise swore to preserve to them the free Exercise of that Religion, each of them professed before.

The Princes of the House of Austria, the Court of France, a-lived the rest of that year in a good Un-gainst the derstanding, as to outward Appearance; Duke of those Epernon.

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1611.

those of the Royal Blood, did the same in France. Conde and Soiffons being now combined together, were not content with Supplanting Sully, they resolved farther to ruine the Duke of Epernon, the Marquess of Ancre took part with them. He promised the Count of Soissons to remove a Man, who was insupportable to all the Epernon hated them in effect, Favourites. because he loved to engross Favours; he thought no one besides himself, could deferve it. Conchini provoked by the great Contempt the Duke treated him with, refolved to humble a Man, who ow'd his Rife to the Favour of Henry the III. and was now more haughty and hard to be bended, than the Princes of the Blood. The more Epernon found his Interest at Court fink, the more he strove to make the Princes of the Blood Senfible, if they would not love him, they should have reafon to fear him. After the Count of Soissons had threatned to insult him he went through the Streets of Paris, attended with Seven or Eight Hundred Gentlemen; he would sometimes take Pleasure in going to the Louvre a foot. His Men marched in order of Batrle, and when the first were at the Louvre, the last were at the Hôtel of Epernon. The Distance of these is near two thousand Paces.

In the midst of this outward Splendor, the Discontent to see himself Excluded from Publick Business, tormented him exceedingly. The Cardinal of Joyeuse, who

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only Subfifted by the Dukes Support, refolved to go to Rome and Divert himself. in the Chapels and Congregations there, fince there was no more occasion for him in the Court of France. Epernon defired leave to go to his Estate and Government; this he obtained with the good liking of the Court. The Regent gave him on Mem. dela this occasion, several Marks of Confidence Regence de and Respect. The Prince of Conde had Medicis. a mind to go and take Poffession of the Government of Guienne, and nothing could divert him from this Resolution. His stiffness gave Umbrage to the Court. The Reformed had a civil Affembly at Saumur, and the Regent did not know whether Conde might not have some secret defign to take his Advantage of this, when he should be in that Neighbourhood. The Duke of Epernon's going to his Governments of Limofin, Angoumon and Xaintonge bordering on Guienne, gave great Satisfaction. The Queen gave him a thousand Caresses, and recommended earnestly to him to observe Conde's steps. This Precaution was not necessary, the good Prince thought no harm, he was too well satisfied with his feigned Greatness, and acting the part of an Imaginary King on the Stage at Bourdeaux, and elsewhere, he was charmed to see himself received with for much Ceremony, took his Place in the Parliament, made his Progress thrô the feveral Towns, and heard with great Gravity, the Harangues and Complements

ments of the Magistrates and Gascon Gentlemen. The Count of Soiffons was now the

The Marquess ry his Son to Soiffons.

figns to mar. only Person who managed the Queen. The Marquels of Ancre whole Favour enthe Princess of creased every day, shew'd an extreme Devotion to him. Soiffons Transported with bringing so potent a Favourite into the interests of his House, did him all the good Offices he could. He Affifted him in obtaining the Government of the Town and Citadel of Amiens, in Spight of the Opposition and Discontent which the Count of St. Paul shewed at it. This Lord being a younger Brother of the House of Longueville pretended to this Employ. But Soissons who had an entire Ascendent over him, made him desift. Farther he engaged St. Paul, to return out of Picardy where he Commanded, during the Mino-Memoires de rity of the Duke of Longueville, to pre-

la regence de Marie de Medicis.

vent any Difference that might happen between him and the New Governour of Amiens, if they should meet. Conchini was now rifen to fuch a height, nothing feemed to be above him. There was a Discourse of Marrying his Son to one of the Princesses of Soissons. You have a mind to flatter me said the Favourite, to a Gentleman who made the Offer, but I confes, this Flattery do's not displease me.

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He'did not long continue in this Mo- 1611. defty, he affected at that time. Concbini The Count of had the boldness to say to the Marquess Soissons acof Cauvres, a Confident of the Count of position. Soiffons, that the Marriage talked of must The Generofus be concluded; that a Prince of the Blood of Epernon. would find great Advantages in it, that the Queen had already given her consent. Soissons meanly complyed with this shameful Match. He was punished for it, as he deserved. The Ministers laid before the Queen Consequences of a Marriage, which would fooner or later draw on it, the Indignation of the King, the Princes of the Blood, and all fensible Men. Thus vie du Duc the Count of Soiffons by this Treaty, only d'Epernon obtained the Scandal and Reproaches of L. VI. consenting to prostitute his Daughter to a young Italian, whose Father and Mother foon became the Horror of Mankind, not fo Wife and Generous as the Duke of Epernon, inferior in Birth to a Prince of the Blood. Conchini caused a Marriage to be proposed for his Daughter, with the Marquels de la Valette, second Son of the Besides the Great Wealth he Duke. would have given with his Daughter, he promised to obtain the Sword of Constable of France for Epernon, as soon as the King should be a Major. Far from hearing his Friends and Servants who advised him to accept this Proposition, the Duke rejected it with a Noble Scorn. Nay, he was Angry with those who presfed him to make an Alliance, which if rewarded

State, would be still the more Scandalous.

> The Cardinal of Foyense took for the pretence of his Journey, the Obligation he had to go to Rome, to perform the Functions of his Dignity of Protector of France: a Pompous and Ridiculous Title, which the Pride of the Court of Rome has invented, and the mean Complaifance of Sovereigns has Authorised. These like Monks, have each their Cardinal Protector with the Pope. A Subject who is Agent for his Prince, becomes his Protector at The Regent Diverted her self at that time at Fontainbleau. There on the 12th of April. she drew up a long Instruction for Joyeuse. No one can read these Pieces without complaining of, or to speak better, contemning Crowned Heads, who fuffer fuch a strange Slavery to be imposed on them. A King must give the Holy Father an account of what he do's at home, for the good of his Dominions; and what Alliances he contracts abroad for their Security. Has he done any thing which is not well relished at Rome, then fee him humbly making his Excuses, and taking all ways imaginable to extenuate his Fault. He is very Submiffive, he promises to do great and mighty wonders on some other Occasion for the Holy See,

Siri Memorie recondite. Tom II. pag. 502, 503, &c.

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What a Pother's here about the Instruction 1611. of the Cardinal of Joyeuse! Mary de Medi- The Regent cis will have him to inform Paul V. ex-justifies to actly of what has been done fince the be- the had done ginning of the Regency, without omit-in favour of ting the least Particular. To justifie her the Protestants. confirming the Edict of Nantes, he must represent to his Holiness, this was extorted from her, to prevent the Jealousies of the Protestants, and disappoint some busie Turbulent Men. The Protestants having Permission granted them to meet for the Regulating other Civil Matters; the pretended it was impossible to do otherwife in a Minority. Endeavouts are used to pacifie the Disquiet which that Assembly gave the Pope, promising to allow the Hugonots nothing that could be difpensed with. The Regent had given several Employs, and bestowed her Favours on some Protestant Lords; for fear the Court of Rome should be alarmed at this. it was said, this was to gain the Heads of the Party over. Paul the V. took it ill, that the Parlement of Paris had made a Decree for the Suppression of Cardinal Bellarmine's Book, against Barclay. Her Majesty is a little Embarassed upon this Article; she is troubled the Defamatory and Scandalous Books of the Gardinal. should give occasion to the Magistrates to concern themselves. But the Queen in Recompence has interposed her Authority, to hinder the Sorbonne from vigorous Censure, which she intended against the

1611. Propositions of Bellarmine. It was not thought fit to give the Hugonots fo great Advantages; what Baseness, what Trick-

ings are here, but this is not all.

The Renewing the Alliances with the Protestant Princes and States, were coloured with the common good of Christendom, and the Example of the King of Spain was alledged, who made a League with the United Provinces; all good Offices were promised with the Electors and Protestant Princes of Germany, in favour of Matthias King of Hungary, whom the Courts of Rome and Madrid wished to have Elected King of the Romans. In the last place, the Court would make the Old Man believe, they were about to form a Potent League against the Tunk and hoped to engage the King of Great Britain, the United Provinces, Prince Maurice of Orange, and the rest of the House of Nassau in it. These Men, says the Queen, Lovers of Glory, they will no be uneafie to have this occasion to add more, to that which they acquired by their Valour. The Picture which she make of King James the I. must not be omitted here. I own continues Mary, that he per p fecutes the Catholicks cruelly. But in fhort H he is a Prince who loves nothing but Peace w He do's not feek to make himself Great & Co the Expence of his Neighbours, he declare he bimself an Enemy to all Subjects, who Re Be bel against their Princes. If he could be true Englis

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English Catholicks, he would let them live peaceably. As he is very averse to the Calvinifts, he will foon change in favour of his Catholicks, if they give him no occasion of

Suspicion or Distrust.

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The Principal Article of this Instructi- complaints of on , regards the Duke of Savoy. He the Court of feemed to threaten to Attack the City of France, a-Geneva, and the Country of Vaux be- Dute of Sa: longing to the Canton of Bern. The voy. Queen will have it represented to the Pope, that the Ambition and Turbulent Humour of the Savoyard, would put all Europe in a Flame, and hinder the conclusion of the League, which it was pretended was defigned against the common Enemy of Christendom; and that Henry III. and Henry IV. having taken Geneva. and the Country of Vaux into the Protection of their Crown, honour and Justice engaged their Successors to defend the one and the other, in case the Duke of Savoy should attempt to attack them. He beafts, adds the Queen, that bis Holiness approves and favours his Designs, that it is not probable. The Pope knows better than any other Man in the World, the Humour, Power and Interest of Charles Emanuel. nort His Enterprize can never succeed. And when the King of Spain shall Restect on the ill Consequences of these Motions of the Duke, he will be the first Man to Condemn them;
Re Besides it is not well known, what are the
best true Designs of Charles Emanuel. When
me demand why he keeps so many Troops afoot. G 2

afoot, he answers the Spaniards being in Arms in the Milanele, Prudence requires him to provide for the Security of his Do-The Catholick Swiss Cantons making the same Demands, the Ministers reply, their Master will Reinstate the Bi-Thops of Geneva and Lausanne in their ancient Rights. He promises one thing at the same time he is under contrary Obligations to the King of Spain. We have great rea-Son to believe, he keeps secret Intelligence with the Protestants of France, and other Countries. At present he is Intriguing n make an Alliance with the King of Eng. land, by a double Marriage of their Children. For the better understanding this Article, it is necessary for me to take things a little higher, and relate the feveral steps of Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, after the Death of Henry IV.

The great
Perplexi'y of
the Duke of
Savoy, upon
the Death of
Henry IV.

This unforeseen Accident mightily embarast him, and he was forced to act as hundred different Parts, sometimes to pacifie the Court of Spain, incensed againshim; at another time to preserve the powerful Support he had from France; and lastly, to find an Opportunity to gratish his unbounded Ambition. In the singular, the Duke was Sollicitous to gain from the Regent a Consirmation of the Promise which Henry had made him, to give Madame the Eldest Daughter France, in Marriage to the Prince of Pamone, whom he preferred to the Prince of Spain, who had likewise been proposed.

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to him. If I would make my Son a Great 1611.
King, faid Henry, like a Man of good Mem. de la Sense, it is not necessary my Daughters should Regence de be Queens. Care was taken to amuse Medicis. Charles Emanuel with fine Words, whilst a Treaty was privately managed with King Philip. As soon as the Duke discovered this, he made complaints to the Court of France; but the Regent very far from having regard to his Instances, Demanded of him all the Writings about the Marriage designed by Henry IV.

The other Sovereigns of Italy were not The rest of the involved in leffer Difficulties than Charles Princes of Emanuel. The Republick of Venice, and Italy, not less fome others, had a share in the Designs of Embarafed Henry, on the fide of the Alpes. As foon of Savoy. as they heard of his unfortunate Death, they were all equally afraid Spain delivered from so Formidable an Enemy, should now in earnest think of over-running Italy, under colour of chaftifing the Duke of Savoy, and the rest who kept Intelligence with Henry, in order to drive the Spaniards out of the Milanese. Paul V. scared, sent for the Venetian Ambassador to him. Write instantly to the Seignoury, says the Pope, that I intreat them for the recordite. love of God to take care, we may all agree in T.II. p.285, so Terrible a Juncture. Massures must be 286. taken for preferving Italy, and the young King of France. I plainly see he is in great Danger. The Spaniards are bufie to create strange Work for him. I am ready

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to Sabour in Concert with, and declare my 1611. felf with the Republick,

The Duke of Savoy had fent his Secre-

The Wife Conduct of the tary to Venice, to press earnestly the Se-S nateof Veice.

nate to conclude with all Speed, a League Offensive and Defensive against the Spa-

Siri Memorie recondite. Tom. II. p. 268,291,

niards. They make new Levies, fays his Minister, and Distribute Money to draw Officers into their Service. The Duke my Master, sees these Preparations are more designed against him, than any other. resolved to continue steddy to his Union with France, will defend himself to the last gasp of Breath, and fooner submit to the Turk, than Spaniard. You are to consider whether his Fall, will not be followed by that of your Republick. The Speedy Conclusion of a League Offensive and Defensive, is the only Means to prevent the Difasters which threaten us alike. The Venetians who very well knew the Power of Spain, did not prefently take the Alarm. They thought it necessary before they declared, to be well affured of the good Intentions and Concurrence of France, the Minority of the King having changed the face of Affairs there. To engage Mary de Medicis to declare her felf, the Seignory wifely caused the League Offensive and Defenfive against Spain, to be proposed to her. The Regent did not in any manner intend to pursue the Designs of Henry. This therefere without farther Confideration, the replied to the Senate, that the Underage of her Son, would not fuffer her to engage

engage in a Foreign War; but if the Senate thinks it Expedient, that she make a Defensive League for the Sasety of Italy, we are ready to give our ancient Allies proofs, we desire nothing more than to preserve and

secure that Repose they enjoy.

Upon this Declaration, the Senate answered very Wisely to the Duke of Savoy; that it very-much concerned all the Sovereigns of Italy, to keep a good Understanding, and provide for their common Safety. But it is to be feared, said they, this will only serve to incense the Spaniards more, and encrease the Distrust and Jealousie of a Crown, whom it behoves as much, nay more than its Neighbours, to Seek for Peace. The Wife, Politick, Old Ministers of Henry IV. saw very well, the Spaniards were not so much to be feared, and there was more Oftentation than Reality, in the threatning Advances of the Court of Midrid. The Death of the Count of Fuentes Governor of Milan, which happened at that time, helped to revive their Courage. They thought Spain would not be able to find a Subject capable of lo well Supporting the Reputation of the Crown, and covering fo artfully the weakness of Philip III. and the Duke of Lerma his first Minister. Pedro Gusman of Toledo, Count of Fuentes, died aged 85 years, on the 22d of July 1610. He was a Man of extraordinary Capacity, and great Experience in all Civil and Military Affairs. He gained mighty Reputation in the

of the preceding Age, and especially at the taking of Cambray. But the care he took to profit by the Lessons of his Master Philip II. sullied the good Qualities of so finisht a Statesman and Soldier.

The ill Dejigns of the Court of Spain, against the Duke of Savoy.

As Charles Emanuel was the boldest and I will add, the most Imprudent of the Italian Princes, to declare against Spain; fo he was the first and chief Object. which felt the Displeasure of that Revengeful Court. In the first place, all the Spanish Troops in his Service were remanded back. He faw plainly they were feeking for an Occasion to pick a Quarrel with him; being affured of a fpeedy Aid from the Mareschal Lesdiguieres his Friend, who commanded in Dauphine, the Duke was not struck with the Threats made him from the King of Spain. He spoke not only like a Man, who was resolved to defend himself Couragiously, but like one who would purfue the Defigns fet on foot before Henry's Death. All the World was fo fully convinced, that the Superiority of Genius and Strength, which had formerly made Spain formidable, were entirely wanting in Philip III. that Princes far inferior to

Siri Memoire recordite. Tom. II. p. 282, 304.

The Imprudence and double deal-ing of the Duke of Savoy.

him, haughtily insulted him.

The Duke of Savoy might have securely despised all the Threats of the Spaniards, if he had been more prudent, and less Knavish. Could he not plainly see, France had

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had no defign to break with Spain, but that the Regent would ftir to prevent him from being Opprest. He ought not then in point of Discretion, to have provoked a Neighbour, who notwithstanding her Weaknels, was stronger than a Duke of Savoy. At the same time that Charles Emanuel was earnestly pressing Mary to obtain what the late King had promifed him, he was at the same time keeping fecret Intelligence with the Count of Soiffons, and the rest of the discontented Lords, and Heads of the Protestant Party, in hopes of kindling a Civil War in France. Being perswaded that the King of Spain would be glad to be reconciled to him, and fought his Friendship; he endeavoured to infinuate into the Court of Madrid, that if the would grant him good Conditions, he would do her very good Service against France. Both Parties soon saw his Ways. Thus was he equally odious, and suspected in all the Courts of Europe, suffered the Difgrace of being humbled in Spain, despised in France and Italy, and hated in his own Country, which he ruined by his Chimerical Projects.

Whilst these Intrigues were carrying on, Divar Negathe King of Spain was in Arms in Italy, lige the King and the Duke of Savoy had a considerable of Spain and number of Soldiers there. Strange Con-Duke of Safusions for France, and the Sovereigns of voy, to lay down their Italy! The Regent was very impatient to Arms in Italiand the Army in Dauphine, Com-ly.

manded by a Hugonot General, but Pru-

5 dence

Siri Memoire rec ndite. Tom II. p. dence would not fuffer her to do it in such a Juncture. The Pope apprehended leaft the Mareschal Lesdignieres should pass the Alps, under colour of coming to the Affiftance of the Duke of Savoy. When Mary pressed Charles Emanuel to lay down his Arms, he asked such conditions, as she did not care to grant him. The Pope too made his Inftances, that Spain and Savoy should fend away those Troops which gave France and Italy fo great uneafiness. But Philip pretended Charles Emanuel ought in the first place to lay down his Arms, and make him Sarisfaction. Duke on the contrary alledged, that the weakest ought to stand upon his Guard, when he seemed to be threatned by a Powerful Neighbour; so that the Difference now feemed only to confift in Cere-Nevertheless the more discerning Men thought, they faw a Collusion here. The Duke Diffatisfied to find the Regent intended in earnest to fall in with the Spaniard, he began to talk too, of fending Prince Philibert his Son to Madrid.

The King of Spain demands the Duke of Savoy Standd first of all make into Satus action.

Whether it were that the Court of Spain were affured, that the Regent of France would willingly suffer the Duke of Savoy to be humbled, provided no harm were done him; or that Philip-was absolutely resolved to reduce his Brother-in-Law, who behaved himself so Haughty at a time, when he sought the King of Spain's Favour; Charles Emanuel received News from Madrid, That his Catholick Maiesty

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iesty was exactly informed of his Ties to the late King of France, and that before the King would confent to an Accommodation, he required a very mortifying Preliminary of the Duke of Savoy. This was, that he should send his Sons, or at Memoire least one of them to Madrid, to remain Tom. II. p. there as a Pledge of their Fathers Fideli- \$36,337. ty; and farther, that he should ask Pardon for his secret Treaties with France, to the prejudice of the Crown of Spain.

Charles Emanuel presently summoned his Council together. No Expedient could be found to evade these hard conditions, but to press France earnestly to fend a speedy Aid. For now the Spanish Troops in the Milanese seemed ready to pour into Piemont. Lesdiguieres gave the Duke fair words, but Mary de Medicis very far from breaking with Spain, in favour of Charles Emanuel, advised him to send Prince Philibert to Madrid, to pacifie King Philip. Thus did the two Courts make sport with a Man, who thought himself crafty enough to deceive them both. There was no way left, but for Charles Emanuel to affure the Spanish Embassador at Turin, that he was disposed to make his Brother-in-Law Satisfaction: He only demanded to have a Suspension of Arms agreed on, and to have Affurance given him, that the Governor of Milan would not make any Attempt on Piemont, till the King of Spain should be latisfied. In stead of hearing the Dukes Pre-

Propositions, they quarrelled with him, 1611. demanded he should Renounce all his Treaties with France, not excepting that of his Sons Marriage; and Laftly, Philip's Officers at Milan answered, they had no Orders to grant a Suspension of Arms, or that Security which the Duke of Savoy proposed.

France lays down her Arms in Dauphine. of the Spaniards, who conin Italy.

At the Solicitation of the Pope, Mary de Medicis had broke the Army of the Mareschal Lesdignieres in Dauphine. The and is jealous Regents Council had consented to this more willingly, because they were pertinuein Arms swaded the King of Spain would not dare to begin a War in Italy. Was it probable he could be in a condition to support one there, who had not the boldness to oppose the taking of Juliers by the Confederate Princes. Philip had affured the Pope, his Defign was only to mortifie the Duke of Savoy, to give him a Check, and Constrain him to make him Satisfaction. The rest of the Princes were not displeased to fee the Pride of Charles Emanuel humbled. All this while he wasted insensibly, because he would stand on his Guard, and keep up his Troops till the King of Spain Disbanded his. Who could yet be fure that Philip would not at last invade Piemont, after he had fatigued the Duke of Savoy, and craftily engaged the Regent to Difarm on the side of the Alpes.

The Council of France was of Opinion, the Queen sould make some Advances, and declare politively the would

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not abandon the Duke of Savoy. That the Disbanded Troops might foon be brought together, and she would send a powerful Aid into Piemont, if Spain should undertake to attack that Country. Charles Emanuel was very glad, to understand the Regent had Writ to the Pope to complain, that the King of Spain continued in Arms, though France had broke her Army in Dauphine; and to affure his Holiness of the Resolution taken in Council, to preserve the Country of Savoy. But the Duke of Feria, Ambassador Extraordinary of Philip in France, had settled so ftrict a Correspondence between his Master and Mary de Medicis, that the Pope could without much Difficulty, dispel the Umbrage which the Regent had taken, and perswaded her to wait quietly the Success of the Journey, which Prince Philibert was about to make into Spain.

The Prince went through Lyons and Prince of Sa-Bourdeaux, attended by the Count of Verue, voy goes into and the Bishop of St. John de Maurienne. Spain. These were to be his Directors in so nice. a Matter. The Prince Arrives on Post-Horses at Madrid, without having received the least Civility or Mark of Respect from the King his Uncle, in any of the Spanish Towns he past through. This was to prepare him to appear as a Sup-Memorie pliant, to make Satisfaction to a Great recondire. King justly incensed against a petty 416, 417, Prince. And now he was to endure all the strain of Spanish Pride. At the first

Interview, Philip gave his Nephew and obliging Reception enough. Not one Word was faid of the Duke of Savoy; no News of him was asked; the Court affected to enquire of the Welfare of the Princes and Princesses of Savoy, without making any mention of their Father.

The Second Audience was more Slippery and Difficult. Here was a Submiffion to be made, to fatisfie the Spanish Humour, which might not be too mean and low for the Duke of Savoy. Charles Emanuel stood very much on an Extream Nicety in point of Honour. His Son framed an Harangue, according to the Instructions he brought with him. Count of Verue and the Bishop, affisted the young Prince in the drawing it. He learnt it by Heart, and spoke it with a good Grace. It was accompanied with all the Demonstrations of Respect and Submission, which the Dignity of a Prince could allow of. The King was not Difpleased with it, but the Duke of Lerma, and the Grandees of Spain, thought very heinously of it, because he had not thrown himfelf on his Knees before the King, and begged Pardon for the Duke of Savoy. Lerma made great Complaints, and required that the Prince should make Satisfaction by Writing. The Spaniards drew up the Form, and required Philibere to Rehearse it in the Kings Prefence.

The

The Savoyards did all they could to fpare their Prince fo shameful a ftep; But The Form of the Spaniards continued inflexible. Phili- the Satisfattibert was treated very roughly, till he Prince of Saconsented to what was required of him. voy made for It was in vain, the Count of Verile repre- bie Father to fented the Prince had exactly followed Spain. the Instruction his Father had given him, and that he had not Orders to make any fuch Submiffions. The Spaniards were pleased to suppose the Prince had a second Instruction, in case their King was not fatisfied with what was prescribed in the first. However this be, said they farther, the Duke of Savoy will ever be in a condition to difavow his Sons Action.

After much canvaffing the Matter, no other Remedy could be found, bur Philibert and his Council must agree to the following Form. The Spaniards drew it almost all up; Great Sir, said the Prince of Savoy, the Duke my Lord and Father, fends me hither to throw my felf at your Majesties Feet, His Age and Business not giving him leave to come in Person, to intreat your Majesty on my Knees, to be content with that Satisfaction I make you. I have not Words lively enough, to express the extream Grief the loss of your Majesties Favour has given the Duke my Father. I throw my self once again at your Feet, and resolve never more to rise, but die bere, unless your Majesty shall grant me the Favour I fue for ; That is, to Receive the Duke my Father, and all our House, into your Royal

Royal Protection. In this, Great Sir, you will give us a Mark of your Clemency, in pardoning the greatest Faults, and of the goodness you have always shown to our House, which is perfectly devoted to you, and Honours you as its Lord and Father. A Prince of your Blood protests this now at your Majesty's Feet, and I will Sign it with mine, if it shall be necessary. The Duke my Father relies wholly on your Majesty's good Will, and we put our selves all into your Hands. If your Majesty shall receive us into your Favour, this will be a new Obligation, and indisfolubly ties us to become your Majesties Servants.

modation of the Duke of Savoy with Spain.

The Bishop of St. John de Maurienne, gave the Duke of Savoy an Account of what passed at Madrid. When he heard his Son was received with great Haughtiness and Indifference, That the Duke of Lerma boafted he had a Copy of the Treaties made with France, and that the Court required Prince Philibert to ask pardon in the Name of his Father; Charles Emanuel fell into so furious a Rage, that for a long time, he could not contain himself within the Bounds of Decency. I will fooner lofe my Life, my Children, my Dominions, than confent to any thing fo unworthy of my Rank. Am I then a Vasfal to the Crown of Spain, that I must ask Philip's pardon, for making a Treaty which does not suit with his Interests? There is now no need for management, thanks be to God, I am not fo weak, but I can bazard a Battle

Memorie recondite. Tom II. po tt

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Battle against Spain. Let them Treat my son ill; Let them break the Laws of Hospitality. These Hardships shall not oblige me to do so mean an Action. When the Pope's Nuncio undertook to represent to the Duke, that the State of his Affairs would not allow him to refuse to make some sort of Submission to his Catholick Majesty, he was more Transported than before, he said a Thousand nasty things; he protested he would never consent the Pope himself should order him.

The Nuncio was not Diverted by this, he briskly told the Duke, that he must not expect any Aid from France, whatever happened; if his Country became the Stage of a War, it must unavoidably be ruined. So that Charles Emanuel convinced at last by the News he had from France, that the Regent would affift him with all her good Offices at the Court of Spain; he consented Prince Philibert should make Satisfaction, according to the Form agreed on with the Duke of Lerma. The thing was done the 19th of November, 1610. At the Intreaty of the Pope, and the King of France, replied Philip with his ulual Gravity; In consideration you are come bither, and the Request you have made me, I will not put in Execution, what I have designed. I will give Marks of my good will to the Duke your Father, as his good Behaviour shall induce me. Prince Philibert made a profound Reverence, and humbly thanked the King for his Majesty's 1611. jesty's Gracious Regard to the Duke of Savoy had always.

Velafeo Con-Rable of Caftile and Governor of Milan, receives

Philip answered to the Pope and the reft, who preft him to withdraw his Troops out of the Milanese, that he must wait till Velasco, who was appointed to orders to Dif- Succeed the Count of Fuentes, was Arrived at Milan. He was on the Road when the Prince of Savoy performed the Conditions proposed to him. The Pope and Mary de Medicis redoubling their Instances to Philip to Difarm, he was under a necessity of complying. As foon as Velasco was in Possession of his Government, he received Orders from Philip, to Difband the Army. The posture of Affairs of the House of Austria in Germany were fo bad, and the Kingdom of Spain was so much exhausted of Men and Money, that Philip and no other way to revenge himself of an inferiour Prince, who had attempted to take the Milanese from him. Nay, France and the Pope were fored to affift him privately to fave his Honour. Without this, Charles Emanuel would have been a Match for him, and the King of Spain would not have dared to attack him.

Different Prosects of the Duke of Sa-VOY.

The Duke of Savoy was ready to burft with Spight, to fee himfelf made the sport of all Europe. He resolved to defer laying down his Arms, as long as he could, and to make his Advantage of the Troops he had on Foot. Sometimes he would declaim against the King of Spain, and made

a Mein, as if he would Disavow all the steps of Prince Philibert. At others, he was violent against the Regent of France, and threatned to make work for her in her own Kingdom, in case she would not perform the Treaties made with the late King. One day he thought of Surprizing Genoa, and for that purpose enter'd into a Negociation with the Mareschal Losdiguieres, because the thing was not fefible, without the Concurrence of France. Some time after he Refumed his old Project on the City of Geneva; Filled with new Hopes, he strove to engage the Pope and Conftable of Caffile to favour him in the defign to destroy a Common-weath equally hateful to the Courts of Rome and Madrid: Charles Emanuel was on the point of Surprizing Geneva at the end of 1602. Some of his Men were got upon the Walls, and ready to open the Gates to the Duke, who was come near it, if the Enterprize had not been happily discovered. In the year 1609, he hoped to succeed better on the fide of the Harbour. The Contrivance was to conceal divers Soldiers in Veffels loaded with Wood, and to run these down the River. The fecond Attempt was defeated fooner than the first. Du Terrail Head of this Enterprize, imprudently spoke of it to some Persons, who gave the Magistrates of the City notice to be upon their Guards.

After this in the Spring time, 1611. the

1611: The Duke of Savoy refolues to Attack the Valleys.

Duke of Savoy thought to try if he might not succeed better with open Force. His Geneva, and Troops were ordered to pass out of Piethe Country of mont into Savor. This sudden Motion of a Restless Ambitious Prince, gave great Suspicions at first; he strove to conceal his Defigns on the Country of Geneva, but the Inhabitants of the Town, and those of the Canton of Bern foon discovered them. They first Addressed themselves to the Mareschal Lesdiguieres, and desired him to procure Affiftance from the Regent. Lesdiguieres promised his good Offices. Before he wrote to Court, he laid before the Duke his Friend, that Geneva and the Country of Vaux, as being under the protection of France, the would not fail to defend them. Charles Emanuel did not feem to give much heed to thefe Discourses, and therefore the Mareschal earnestly prest the Queen and her Councel, to oppose the Designs of the Duke, they saw very well the Consequences. La Nove, Son to that Brave and Religious Gentleman, who gain'd so fair a Reputation in the Wars of France, and the Low Countries, had order to go to Geneva with two Thousand Foot, and the Canton of Bern, received New Assurances of the King's Protection.

The Council of Bellegarde Gentleman of the Horse France rewas sent into Burgundy, and the Marquiss Solves to proted Geneva of Alincourt to Lyons, to watch the Duke and the of Savoy's Motions. Berrault appointed County of Vaux.

Ambaf-

Ambassador extraordinary at Turin, went to represent to Charles Emanuel, that his Enterprize would have troublefom Confequences, and declare directly that the Regents Council were gathering Troops to defend a Town and Country, which the Predecessor of Lewis the XIII. had taken into the Protection of their Crown. The Duke who reckoned on the Affistance of the Pope and Governor of Milan, did not defift for all this. Count of Soissons sent him privately, word to be very referved to Berrault, a Creature of Villeroy, who aimed to furprize and daunt the Duke. The Pope's Nuncio in France declared, his Mafter Memorie knew nothing of the Defigns of Charles recondite. Emanuel; but this Italian Minister main- Tom. II.psg. tained them as well as he could, and strove to prove the Justice of them to the Queen. All this gave Umbrage. This was the reason she earnestly recommended to the Cardinal of Joieuse to Discourse with the Pope upon this Subject, and to Represent the Reasons which France had to oppose the Enterprize which the Duke of Savoy seemed to design.

The World could not comprehend the The Duke of Intrigues of this Prince; perhaps he him-Savoy is for-felf did not very well know what he could be suffered to Differed to make a War on the Protestants; and his chief Prospect is to raise the Hugonots of France, in case he were left alone to act against Geneva. At the same time he

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proposes to the King of England, a double Marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princels of Savoy, and of the Prince of Piemont, with a Daughter of England, It was very difficult at first, to make King James hear the Envoy from Savoy, and yet the Duke pushed the Matter so far, that the Court of Rome was alarmed at it. Paul V. took Measures to break the Treaty, which the King of England and the Duke of Savor had no great mind to conclude. A Capucin had Orders to go to Turin with an Instruction from Cardinal Borghefe, to divert Charles Emanuel from thinking on an Alliance with England. All that could ever be gueffed of fo capricious a Movement, was. that the Duke thought to create a Jealouhe in France, and bring her by this means o to finish the Treaty, or the Marriage of the Eldest Daughter of that Kingdom with the Prince of Piemont, He hoped roo, the Pope would break the Treaty of the Double Marriage between France and Spain, and Affift the Prince of Piemont, to Marry the Eldest Daughter of either of those two Crowns, rather than suffer the Duke to bring a Protestant Princess to Turin.

The poor Duke spoil'd all his Affairs, by aiming too much to be crafty. His Intrigue with England did not succeed better than any of the rest. The Regent determined too on the double Marriage between France and Spain, thought no

more

more on the Prince of Piemont, except for Madam Christina, second Daughter to the late King. For his defigns on Geneva, and the Country of Vaux, thefe he must quit too. Mary de Medicis had acted her part fo well with the Pope and King of Spain, that they joyned with her to compel the Duke of Savoy to lay down his Arms. La Varenne was sent from the Court of France to Turin, to conclude this Matter. Charles Emanuel ftill flattered with some Hopes, the Regent would be his Friend, had amind to do this with a good Grace. He thought at least to make this Advantage, that Mary de Medicis should take in good part, the Deference which he feigned to have for her Majesty.

The Queen was the more Solicitous, Acivil Mento put a Hop to the Commotions in Savey, ing of the because the Court seared the Protestants Protestants of mer at Saumur, might take Umbrage at it. When the Reformed of France law there was a necessity for them to defend themselves against those who attacked them with open force, they began to form fer Meetings in different Provinces of the Kingdom, to agree on Meafures for their Safety, and the free Exercise of their Religion. One or more Provinces joined together, first held their Provincial Affembly. Out of these, they deputed a certain number of Gentlemen, of those they called Elders or Ministers, to form the General Affembly, who were to take Refolu-

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Resolutions for the common Good of the whole Body. Reason and Natural Equity allow of these fort of Confederacies. The Primitive Christians united, and had their Meetings for the Regulation of their Discipline, and preserving the Purity of the Gospel. After their Example, the Reformed had their Synods to draw up their Confession of Faith, and form the Government of their Churches. being born in a Christian State, where Subjects have Privileges and Liberties. had not only their Religion to take care of, but were under an Indispensable Obligation to defend their Right, as far as the Rules of Natural Equity and Christianity admit against their King, and a Faction of their Countrymen, who strove to oppress them.

The Sovereign Power ought to hinder as far as may be, all Affociations and Meetings which may cause Disorder and Confusion in a State; but this must be by a due Execution of the Fundamental Laws and maintaining those Rights and Privileges which Subjects cannot without Injustice be deprived of. It is reasonable to alledge, Men ought not to form a State within a State. None would think d this, if they were left peaceably to enjoy their Birthright. But for Princes to pretend to prevent Disorders which would never happen, if they were disposed to do Justice; and to use these plausible Maxims, to oppress with more ease those whom

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whom they have Sworn to protect, is a Tyranny which it is lawful to oppose. This is ever most dangerous, when it is covered with the fair Colours of the publick Good.

The King of Navarre liked these Principles very well, and thought them folid and conducing to the Welfare and Repose of Civil Society, whilf he was struggling to defend himself against the power of the League; but when he once faw himfelf Master of a fair Kingdom, he soon abandon'd those Sentiments, which Interest more than Reason had led him to embrace: Princes never confult this Oracle; they are only entertained with Discourses of Reason, when they are not in a condition capable of understanding it. In the following part of their Lives they are flattered, and Transported with Passion for their own Greatness. Whatever makes them absolute and Independent, ever feems most Just and Reasonable to them. After the Verification of the Edict of Nants, Henry did not without great difficulty, grant the Protestants leave to hold a General Meeting. He was afraid the Lords that resorted to it, or had their Creatures there, should attempt any thing to his prejudice.

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Are not the Synods, said the King, sufficient to determine Matters of Discipline and Religion? As for Civil Affairs, and the keeping the Edist of Pacification, the two Deputies General which I allow the Pro-

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testants to have in my Court can represent to me the Griefs and Complaints of the Provinces. I will take care to do them Justice. This manner of Reasoning had been good. if Henry had had the Knowledge and Integrity not to be Surprized by the Popes Nuncio, and other crafty Men, who were ever near him, to Extort something to the Disadvantage of the Reformed. The continual Industry of their Enemies to do them Mischief, made these Meetings almost Indispensably necessary. The King having come to an Agreement with the Protestants, that they should Nominate fix capable Persons for their Agents, and that out of this Number, he should chuse two which he liked best, it was necessary they should meet for the Nomination of these Men.

Henry indeed declared, his Intention was, these Assemblies should only concern themselves in the Choice of fit Persons, to be their Deputies General. But those who refigned this Employ, being to give an Account of what they had Transacted, it was not possible for this Assembly to avoid entring upon the Discussion of some Political Matters. Henry faw this very clearly. The good King contented with, taking Precaution against the Mareschal of Bouillon, and some other Protestant Lords whom he was jealous of, granted a Permission to the Reformed, to meet and Adress their Complaints and Desires to him. The Duke of Sully his Faithful Minister.

Minister, was a great Assistance to him on these Occasions. He strove to manage all things fo, as to give the King Satiffaction, and the most moderate Protestants might have no reason to complain. sully's Station was enough to Embarassany Man. To serve his Master, and content the Reformed, was no easie Matter. Turbulent Restless Spirits were continually Exclaiming, and the Mareschal of Bouillon, all whose Motions he observed, conceived an Implacable Hatred against him.

The time of Villarnoul and Mirandu exercifing their Office, expiring in the The Proteyear 1611, these two Deputies General fants prepare followed the Court in the Journey to the bold and Rheims. Here they presented a Petition, Meaing. to befeech his Majesty to permit his Subjects of the Reformed Religion, to hold a General Meeting. This Request was too reasonable to be Rejected, especially in a time when there was a necessity to manage every thing. The Kings Letters were dispatcht away the 10th of Ofto- Mercure ber, 1610. He allowed the Reformed to Francois meet at Chatelleraut the 25th of May, in he following year. From that time they prepared in earnest, to present their Grie- Mem du Duc vances to the Regent, in expectation of de Rohan. L. Redress. The Court flattered them with I. Relation de air hopes, the Mareschals of Bouillon and passe al'af-Lesdiguieres, shew a zeal for the Inte-semblee de rest of their Religion. They engage Du Saumur Plessis Mornay, to draw up Memorials to les Mem. be fent into the Provinces, that all might precedente,

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agree what to ask of the Regent in the prefent Juncture. The Resolves of the Provincial Assemblies were brisk enough. illon do's not conceal these, publishes them at Court, shews Copies of them to Villeroy values himself on this to the Ambassadours of England, and the United Provinces, promises to do Wonders in the Assembly, then retires to Sedan. This was to let the Regent know, he would take effectual ways to do his Brethren Justice.

The Mareschal to be roon by the CONTS.

Whether the Mareschal of Bouillon had fuffers himfelf at that time any ill Intentions, or whether he fuffer'd himself after to be won by the Promises and Caresses of the Queen, and her Confidents, God knows. As for Lefdiguieres, he had little sense of Christianity; his Life was almost a continual Series of so black Crimes, that the facred Name may be spared. In short, he was an absolute Libertine. But what ever the fecret Defigns of Bouillon were, after his return from Sedan, he changed his Language. In the time of a Minority, faid he, to Aersens, Ambassador from the States General, is it not the Duty of good Christians to Suffer, rather than form Cabals and Intrigues to amend their Condition? In the first place, let us give the young King some Marks of our Loyalty and Devotion to his Service. God will give us the rest, when he pleases. I go in this mind to our Meeting and I will endeavour to inspire the same Thoughts into others. I would here praise his Noble and Generous Senlovinces, that c' timents. timents, if other Memoires than those of 1611. the Duke of Roban did not farther inform me, that a certain Person carried a promile from the Queen, to the Mareschal of Bouillon of the Government of Poiton, which she design'd to take from the Duke of Sully. Villeroy and the Marquels of Ancre, drew up Instructions for Bouillon. they put Money in his Hands to be distributed as he should think fit; they gave him Commission to gain several Mercenary Souls, by New Gratifications from

Mary de Medicis.

Chatellerant being one of the Towns The Mening of under the Government of the Duke of the Reformed Sully, whom they intended to ruin; the from Chatel. Mareschal of Bouillon was of Opinion, leraut to the Meeting should not be held there. Saumir. Saumur feemed to be a place more conve- Francois nient for his deligns. The Letters for this 1611, Translation were Dated at Fontainbleau. the 2d of May 1611. Before the opening of the Meeting, Bouillon had declared to Du Plessis Mornay, and some other Perfons of Quality, that he would not be President of it. I think too, added he, this Place ought not to be given to any great Lord : This must needs create Zealousies. But the Mareschals New Engagements to Mem.du Due the Court, made him change his Mind. de Roban. No sooner were they at Saumur, but he Liv.I. Relati. declared without farther Ceremony, that on de l'afhe defired to prefide. This Distinction, Saumur. faid he, is due to the long and confiderable

Services

1611. Services I have done for the Reformed Churches of France.

The Dukes of Sully, Roban, de la Trimonille, Soubize, Chatillon, la Force, and divers other Protestants of Quality came to Saumur. Some of these, and the greatest part of the Deputies, had a Distrust of the Mareschal. For this reason they agreed to fland by the first Motion which Bouillon himself had made, not to Elect any Great Lord for their Prefident. Plessis Mornay, Governor of the Town and Castle of Saumur, justly valued for his great Knowledge, Religion and Probity, carried it by a Plurality of Voices: At first he refused a Place, which expofed him to the Envy and ill Humour of the Mareschal his old Friend. His Oppofition was in vain. The Company earneftly intreated him, to give on this Occafion, New Proofs of his Zeal for maintaining the Reformation, and his usual Integrity in the most difficult Matters. Bouillon shewed visibly his Resentment, and threatned to revenge the Affront done to him. This particularly regarded the Dukes of Roban and Sully.

The Reconciliation of the Mareschal of Bouillon and the Duke of Sully.

Reflecting after some time, that this Transport was capable of overthrowing all his Projects, he appeared more calm. Some common Friends proposing a Reconcilement between him and the Duke of Sully, he thought Prudence required this to be done, at least in Appearance. When the Mareschal had Reproached the Duke.

Duke, that in the late Kings time, he 1611. had drawn the Canon out of the Arlenal. to destroy the Town and Church of Sedan. Let us forget what is past, says he, I will become your Friend and Servant, If you are attacked in Sully upon account of Religion, I will as readily bring down she Canon of Sedan to defend you, as you drew out that of the Arfenal, to destroy me at Sedan. Let us agree for the benefit of our Religion. Conscience and our Common Interest require it; We cannot subsist without an Union. The Party we follow cannot procure us great Advantages, but it is capable of supporting a moderate Fortune. That which is commonly called Greatness of Soul, is most commonly Vanity and Oftentation. The Mareichal would appear generous, by feigning to Sacrifice a private Injury to the publick Good. And perhaps he was fincere in what he did. The Sense of Religion and Probity, sometimes awakes in Noble Minds; but Paffion in its turn rifing again, stiffes every thing that opposes it. Bouillon fought an Advantage from the Reformed, he gave Proofs of it in this Meeting. He discovered Vigour in some weighty Affairs; in others blinded by his Hatred and Ambition he could not see, that by serving the Court he scattered the Seeds of fatal Division amongst his Brethren.

To prevent the ill effects of Differen-The Protestants ces amongst them, the Protestants thought renew their fit to renew the Oath of Union they had Oath of Union.

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Mercure Francois 1611.

formerly taken on divers Occasions. This Oath was first used amongst them. when they had a Prince of the Blood. and the late King at their Head. After he had changed his Religion, he did not shew his Dislike of his Protestant Subjects renewing their Union at Mante under his Eyes, and swearing publickly before the Catholicks of his Party, that they would die in defence of their Confession of Faith. A Just Prince should never complain of an Oath made under his Obedience. In it they protested, they would ever continue Loyal to the King; But Henry being now in peaceable Poffession of France, he was much offended at an Act which the King of Navarr had approved off. The Renewing this at Chateller aut, put him into an ill Humour. He resented it highly, that Lesdiguieres had Signed what himself had done under preceding Kings. Sully gave him good Reasons for this proceeding. The Reformed would not be afraid of any thing that could happen; Sir, said he to him, if the Crown could make you Immortal. But the Memory of St. Bartholomew, will strike a Terror into them. We are not ignorant the Catholicks press you, only to give a Toleration for a Time; See then what Reasons the Protestants have to take care for Futurity. When the Reformed had so many just Grounds to distrust the Regent and her Council, could it seem strange they should renew their Union at Saumur, but the cry was against them They

They were ever Reproached with this Oath, in the Reign whose History I am now writing. To make a thing which was Innocent and Necessary in the Opinion of Henry Criminal; was not this, plainly to declare to the poor People, their

Ruine was absolutely resolved on?

Boiffife and Bullion Counsellors of The Affairs State, and Commissioners sent by the King the Duke of Sully proposes to the Affembly at Saumur, having brought in the Meeling with them hopes of the Favour of the as Saumur. Court, there was a serious design to draw up the Complaints and Requests of the Reformed Party. Whilst this was managing by Persons appointed for that purpole, there arose a Debate about the Duke of Sully's Concerns. He feared the Consequences of the Threats, made him to appoint Commissioners to enquire into his past Actions, and proceed against him, if he persisted to refuse to lay down his place of Great Mafter of the Artillery, and his Government of Poitou. bring him to do this with the better Grace, the Court offered him the choice of two forts of Recompences, a Dignity as that of Mareschal of France, or a considerable Sum of Money. The Duke defired to keep his Places and Government, and convey both to the Marquels of Rony his Son. He could find no way besides to baffle the Potent Enemies he had at Court. but by engaging all the Hugonot Party to support him and declare loudly their cause H 5

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was concerned in his Preservation. He took Measures to succeed in this Project, and the Mareschal was no less busie in Traversing it; reckoning the Government of Poitou his own, by Virtue of the Regents Promise, when Sully should be deprived of it.

The Duke of Sully's Remonstrance to the Meeting.

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A Discourse between the Mareschal of Bouillon and the Duke of Rohan; concerning the Duke of Sully's Affair.

Sully made a Remonstrance to the Meeting. Under Colour of defiring their Advice, he dextroully infinuated, that his Religion was the only cause of Difgrace, and the Affociation Oath which he had just now taken, would expose him still farther to the Displeasure of the Court. This was at least true in part; the Deputies were convinced it was fo, and the most Disinterested amongst them, decla-The Confideration all Men red for Sully. had for the Duke of Rohan, a Lord already very Eminent for his great Courage, his rare Probity, his Discernment, and capacity still encreased the Friends of Sully. whose Daughter he had Married. was an Invincible Obstacle to Bouillon's defigns and embaraffed him exceedingly. He thought to furmount, this, by perfwading Rohan to abandon his Father-in-Law. pretending his Cause was desperate.

However Upright and Careful a Man be, who has the Administration of the Finances and Artillery, says the Mareschal to the Duke of Rohan, in a Visit he made him when he was ill; It is hard for him to avoid committing some fault, which deserves to be punished, if it be enquired rigorously

into.

into. A Superintendent of the Finances, and a Great Master of the Artillery, are not only answerable for what they do themselves, but for the Management of their Commissioners and Inferior Officers. If the Court Should appoint Commissioners to enquire into the Duke of Sully's Administration, do you think they would not find some plausible Pretence, to take away bis Places. The Assembly and the Reformed, will have no colour of Complaint, nay, though wrong be done to the Duke of Sully. The Matter will be Determined in the usual Forms of Law. For you, My Lord, you make such a Profession of exact Probity. You are so great a Lover of good Order, in a Word, you have so Loyal a French Heart, you will not be able to stir, when the Matter shall be determined Judicially. Duke of Roban took this Complement very ill? What, replyed he with some Disturbance, after the Great Services the Duke of Sully has done to the late King. shall he become a Prey to those who were always doing Mischief to the State. His Conduct is unblamable, and we do not fear. it should be examined. He is a Peer, and cannot be judged but by a Court of Peers. If his Enemies endeavour to bring him before any other Tribunal, his Kinsmen and Friends will never endure such an Indignity. Be assured, My Lord, that I will do my Duty on this Occasion, and will not leave my Father-in-Law to be trampled on.

1611. The Affembly declares for the Duke of Sully.

The Steddiness of the Duke of Roban, discomposed the Mareschal of Bouillon. The Affembly declared for Sully. They pressed him to keep his Places, and particularly that of Great Master of the Artillery. But if he was inclined to accept of a Reward, they intreated him rather to accept of a Dignity, than a Sum of Money. The one suited better with the Duke of Sully's Family, and the other with the good of the Reformed Churches. In the Conclusion, the Assembly declared Sully's particular Interest, and that of the whole Protestant Party were Inseparable on this Occasion; and that they would affift him if any should Attempt to give him Trouble for his Administration. This Refoby any unlawful Methods. lution was attacked in feveral Libels. One came our with the Title of the Overfeer of Charenton. This was a Satyr on the Rough and Covetous Humour of the Duke. The Author Admonishes the Reformed, that this step of theirs in supporting thus highly a private Person, was fubject to the most Sinister Interpretarions, and they would do well to be moderate and referved.

The Court YE

The Court Resemted it; that the Refive to break formed should use such high Language spithe Meeting in their Affembly. The Duke of Rohan with all freed. made a Speech full of Vigour, Courage, and Piety. He was heard with Pleasure, and every. Man discovered more Conflancy than before. That which Roban then

then delivered as a Maxim of State, is 1611. fince become a Prophecy, and we fee v.le Difcours the Accomplishing of it in our Times, du Duc de Rules of State, fays that Lord, change Saumur with the Times. No certain Maxims can apres fee be laid down. That which is profitable to Memoires one King, is prejudicial to another : If whenever the King of France becomes a Profecutor of our Religion, he lofes the Protection of it all over Christendom: He enriches Some Neighbour with that Title: He does not encrease his Interest in the Church of Rome, be entirely ruins his Kingdom. The Regents Council being devoted to the Court of Rome, was very far from following Counfels fo fafe and conducing to the Wellfare of France. The Confequences of the Union, and good Correspondence of the Hugonots, scared the Court. This was enough to break the Double Marriage, which the Queen Negotiated. It was resolved therefore to divide the Party, and break up the Affembly, and to do this in such a manner, that they should have no reason to complain of any bur themselves.

After some time treating with the Commissioners of the King about the Paper, Boissife and Bullion declared, they had no Orders to give an Answer, and it was requisite for the Assembly to depute some Persons to the Court, to carry their Complaints and Requests. This is done. The Deputies are well received by the Ministers. They are amused with this words;

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1611. de l'assemblee de Saumur apres de Rohan in 40.

But how were they surprized, when in V.I Relation stead of giving them the Paper with a favourable Answer, as they were made to hope, the Chancellor declared, this should les Memoires not be done before the Nomination of fix Persons, two of which the King would chuse for Deputies General of the Reformed Churches. This was in plain French, to tell them the Court would not give them any Answer to the Paper they presented, till after the Dissolution of their Meeting. This could not hold longer than till the Nomination was made, the King having only allowed of it for this purpose. It was in vain to insist, and make very humble Remonstrances. The King never treats with his Subjects, replied the Ministers, He grants what Favours he thinks fit. Proceed to your Nomination. The Paper is answered as favourably as you can wish. Bullion protested this at Saumur, with a Curse on his Eternal Damnation.

A Division in the Affembly at Saumur.

The Question is only about a Formality. faid some Mercenary Slaves of the Court. The King will not deliver to us the favourable Answers which he intends to give us. This is but decent, to hew it is his favour which he voluntarily grants, and not Articles extorted by a long Treaty. It concerns us to obtain what we desire, but in what manner this is indifferent. Those who had most Knowlege and Integrity, were not dazled with this. They faw that if the Assembly were once broke up, they

must be content with what Terms the Regent would please, and the Remonstrances of the two Deputy Generals, would be too weak to oblige the Court to take notice of them. But the Mareschal of Bouillon had gained a very considerable Party. La Varenne, Valet de Chambre of the King sent by the Court, a Man of great Address and Management, went from Door to Door to distribute, or promise Gratisications to those who would purchase them.

When the Mareschal of Bouillon thought the Party well enough united, he drew up himself the form of a Letter, which the Regent should write to the Meeting. and fent it privately to Court: The tenour of this, was to require the Assembly. to proceed inceffantly to the Nomination of fix Persons, to receive the Answers given to their Paper, and then to break up. Those who refused to obey this Order, were declared Rebels; and the leffer Number which were won over by the Mareschal of Bouillon, was Authorised to Name ax Persons to the King. The Regent fent the Letter as Bouillon had contrived: This was Communicated in the first place to divers Persons, to sound their Inclinations. Most were of Opinion they should withdraw, and not hear it read. But Du Plessis Mornay, and the Wifest part, thought the Party made by the Mareschal and the Court, should pay a blind Obedience, and the reft refuse to do

do it; that fuch a Separation would cause 1611. a fatal Division in the Reformed Churches. For this reason, they strove to perswade the most Warm and Zealous to use Prudence and Management on this Occalion.

The Wildom of Du Pleffis

We know well enough the Author of this Pernicious Advice, said the Wise Du Plef-Mornay, upon fis. Without him our Enemies would not have dared to have attempted a thing of this Consequence. Let us not flatter our selves. He who has began to fnare, is not of a Humour to leave it unfinished. He to bave Acwill have the Honour complished that which the Perfecutions, Civil Wars, and the Bloody St. Bartholomew could not do. Our Union will be broke, our Churches divided by an unhappy Schism. Let God judge between bim who has given this Advice, and us, and make him to fee bis Fault. Gentlemen, the Judgment of Solomon is before you. Let us thew that we are the true Mother. The Bowels of Jesus Christ are torn in a more cruel Manner, because some among us will not fee it. Thefe Men are not concerned, to teach us what Obedience is que to the King; we know one another well enough. Whatever happens, let is make our Nomination at the Queen Commands. Our Churches will parden us for not following their Instructions, when they fee into what danger the ill Advice of Some Men has ebrown is. The Schifm is ready to be formed : This is enough for our Justification. This. This Discourse full of Religion and Wisdom, calmed their exasperated Minds. They resolved to hear the Queens Letter

read, and obey her Majesty.

Bullion goes the next day in the Morn- The Conclusion ing to the Meeting, presents the Regents of the Meeting Letter, and demands the Kings Orders to be executed. They shall be so replied, Du Plessis Mornay, since we have the Misfortune not to have our Remonstrances heard; but we hope their Majesties will have regard to our Submission, and those Just Requests we have made. Do not take it ill. Sir, said he, turning to the Commissioners if I frankly tell you those who have sowed Division amongst us, have not done his Majesty good Service. It was our Union which Setled the late King upon the Throne of his Ancestors; be knew so well the profit of it, that it was renewed and foorn to in his Presence, and in the midst of his Court at Mante. Heaven grant a peaceable Minority to the King, and a happy Regence to the Queen. The more the Reformed are united amongst themselves, the more they will be in a condition to serve their Prince usefully. Three or four of the Court Faction, would have stood up at the Instigation of the Commissary, and have made a noise, but the Prudence of the President, and the Remonstrances of the rest stopt them.

The fifth of September, the Affembly named the fix Persons, out of whom the Court might chuse two for Deputies Ge-

neral:

1611. neral of the Reformed Churches of France. After this, the Answer made to the Paper of Complaints and Requests was read. What the Court granted was so inconsiderable, that the Persons who declared on that fide were filled with Confusion and Rage, We'll sooner burst, cry'd one, than stop here. The time of considering was over; The Assembly was broke by the same Writ that permitted them to fit. Let us break up, fays Du Plessis. Let every Man leave his Animosities here. It would be an Addition to our Misfortune, to carry thefe along with us into our Countries. Every one has faild, even one has done well. Let us endeavour to obtain by a Respectful Silence, and a Christian Patience, what we could not gain by our Petitions and Remonstrances.

> This was the end of one of the most Famous Protestant Meetings, after three Months Sitting. It was composed of the most Eminent Men for their Birth, Ability, and Experience in Business. They would have been more Successful in their Labours, for the benefit of their Churches, if they had not furnished the Court with means to make an Advantage of Divisions, by the Ambition and Covetousness of some particular Members. This Affembly had given the Regent some Disquiet, and alarmed divers Towns, who imagined the Reformed would now be more potent than ever. When it was found they were broke up without gaining

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ing any Advantage, their Enemies insulted them on all fides, and divers Libels against them were published. In one of these the Anonymous Author, divides the Meeters into three Classes, the Malicious, the Zealous, and the Judicious. Under the Name of Malicious, were defigned the Duke of Roban, and the rest who were of Opinion, they should shew their Resolution to obtain a favourable Answer. These Men faid they, only feek to Embroil the Nation, and kindle a Civil War. As for the Zealous, they painted these as People whose love to their Religion, made them Suspicious and Diffident. Their ignorant Zeal, said they, their Prepossession, that all endeavours are used to distress them. made these comply with the former. In the last place, the Judicious were the Mareschal of Bouillon, and those of his Party. Their Obedience and Moderation was praised. A Civil War was in their Opinion, the worst of Evils. They would fuffer any thing, rather than put the Nation into a Flame.

A New Book of Du Plessis Mornay, A Book of enraged the Roman Catholicks strangely. Du Plessis The Title of it was, The Mystery of Ini- Mornay a-guity, or, The History of the Papacy. The Papacy. Defign of the Author was to shew against the Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, by what degrees the Monarchy of the Pope was formed, and the feveral Oppositions . which Honest Men made, to the Establishing a Power so contrary to the Spirit

of the Gospel. There was nothing very extraordinary in this, the Roman Catholicks were accustomed to this Controverfy. It had been handled in an Infinity of Books; the Cut in the Front of this Book, gave greater Offence to them. than all the reft. Paul the V. was reprefented in it, with the Flattering and Impious Inscriptions made for him on the other fide of the Mountains. Some Perfons applied to him, what the Holy Ghoff fays of Jesus Christ himself, gave him the Title of the most Invincible Monarch of the Christian Common-wealth, the most Ardent Defender of the Papal Omnipotence; in short, Vice God. This was a word newly invented to his Honour. Since Men who make a Profession of the Gospel, have pushed Flattery to such an Extravagance, can we admire that Pagans fhould place their Princes in the number of the Gods, whom they adored?

Du Plessis made himridiculous by a pleafant and lucky Remark. By adding the value of the Numeral Letters of the Latin words, which signific Paul V. Vice God, he found the number 666. which makes the Mysterious number of the Beast spoke of in St. John's Revelation. The Reformed applauded this Discovery, and their People being now perswaded that Paul V. was truly the Son of Perdition, whom the Lord Jesus would destroy, by the Breath of his Mouth, and the Glory of his Coming, they flattered themselves they should soon ry

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foon see the Fall of Babylon. Du Plessis 1611. himself was so well pleased at the Suc-vie du M.du cess, that his Friends writing to him, that Plessis L. III.

his New Book was a great prejudice to his Fortune, and that Villeroy, and some other Ministers were cold to him, whereas before they intended to have given him some considerable Employ. He comforted himself without much difficulty on this Cross, and shew'd, he contemned the Threats, which his Enemies exasperated.

against him, made him on all sides.

The more enlightn'd Persons in the Church of Rome, did only laugh at the Fancy of the Author. This Sporrive Wit feemed very feafonable to them, to put to Confusion a Priest who being come to be Bishop of Rome, was pleased to see himfelf flatter'd in such an Impious manner. But the Monks and Bigots made a great Noise. The Popes Nuncio was in a terrible Heat, and Paul himself sent Briefs to complain of the Outrage done him. The Regent was not less alarmed than the rest. She could not endure to hear is said, the Pope was Antichrift. Besides the Reasons common to all of her Religion, to oppole a Dogm which make them pals for Worshippers of the Beast, Mary de Medicis had a particular one. The Validity of her Marriage with Henry, was grounded on the Authority of the Pope, who declared his former with Margaret of . France, null, and the Regent imagined all who looked on the Pope as Antichtift, could

could not look upon her as the lawful 1611. Wife of Henry the IV. This made her defire to fee de Mornay's Book blafted, at

least in appearance.

It is carried to the Sorbonne, the first Du Pleffis Mornays Book of August, 1611. The Dean and Dois censured by ctors of the Faculty of Paris, having said the faculty of a Solemn Mass of the Holy Ghoft, met Paris.

Mercure Francois, 1611.

to appoint Doctors to examine the Work. They make the Report the 19th of the fame Month, and Condemn the Book. as filled with an Infinity of Blasphemies, and Execrable Impieties against the Catholick Faith and Religion, and against the Apostolick See. These big Words only They would ferve to dazle the Simple. have the World believe, the Catholick Faith and Religion are inseparable from the Pontifical Authority. Every Doctor, every Magistrate, every Courtier, may believe what he pleases. But Policy do's not allow People to be drawn out of their Ignorance and Superstition. The Cenfure of the Faculty was made according to the Report of the Doctors, who were deputed to censure it. The Book was detefted and condemned as Heretical stuff'd with Furious Zeal, exceeding Seditious, contrary to the Divine, Natural and Canon Law, in short, whatever those good Gentlemen pleased.

Could they have declared themselves their Consure. With more Vehemence against the Impious Dogms of Paul of Samofata, Arius or Photinus? To ask these Wise Masters

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f the Sorbonne, what reason they had thunder thus on an Author, who deies the Monarchy of the Pope, to be of Diine Institution, would be an useless loss Time. The Doctors fet up for little opes. They thunder, but do not instruct. o they think the Papacy founded on Naral Right? The greatest part of Manind hitherto have not discovered this. trange Blindness indeed! For the Diine Law, they shew us one or two Pasges in the Gospel. The Roman Cathocks Disagree about the true sense of these laces, the Gravest Christian Writers did or see the Primacy of the Pope in them, efore there were any Protestants in the Vorld. If by the Canon Law the Moern Decretals are to be understood, we ill submit to Condemnation. But if the ue Canon Law of France be as we are fren told, the ancient Code of Canons, ade or received in the first General ouncils, the Judicious and Difinterested octors of Paris, will find nothing less an the Primacy and Monarchy of the ope there.

It was the Name of Antichrift, which id most disturb the Roman Catholicks. The Pope do's not care to be the Beast, and those of his Communion will not be is Worshippers. But in short, if it be ue, and it is not commonly denyed in rance, that the Dominion usurped by the opes, is contrary to the Spirit of Jesus brist, and the Institution of the Apostles,

it cannot be denyed that the Pope is Antechrift in this Sense, and that his Monarchy is Antechriftian. If it be true. as it feems to be, that to rife and oppose what is called God, or what Men adore. be to put a Mans self above those to whom the Lord of all things has said; Te are Gods, and the Sons of the most High, and to assume Honours which are due to him alone, is it not evident then that the Pope is, or at least resembles very much the Son of Perdition, and the Man of Sin, foretold by St. Paul? As for the Prophecies of St. John the Protestants, are not the first who have applied them to the Pope. There is no need of feeking ways round about, to find Characters very much refembling those we see in him. The Comparison between the Pagans and Christians in these latter times, seems so just, that it is difficult to determine which of the Interpreters are in the Right, who Explain the Prophecies of the Revelations, of one and the other Rome.

One Ferrier thought to distinguish himfelf in the beginning of this Age, by maintaining a publick Thesis at Nismes, where he was Professor of Divinity, that the Pope is Antichrist. The Parlement of Toulouse proceeded against him, but he declined their Jurisdiction, and removed the Affair to the Chamber of the Edict at Castres. Some little time after, the Protestants made a New Article of Faith in their National Synod of Gap in Dauphins, in which they declared, that they believed and would maintain; That the Bishop of Rome is properly Antichrist, and the Son Perdition foretold in the Word of God. This New Article was to be the XXXI of the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches in France. Henry IV. took it ill, than in his Reign they should devise a thing they had never once thought of, when the Disputes were hottest in the times of his Predecessors.

Whether it were that he feared for his own part the Consequences, with regard to his second Marriage, or that he was displeased the Reformed should Reproach him, with leaving the true Religion to become a Worshipper of the Beast; Henry commanded absolutely, this New Article should be left out. The more Wife and Moderate of the Protestants, disavowed what was done at Gap; or at least thought the Synod wanted Prudence and Moderation. The Question of Antichrist was again brought upon the Board, at the Synods of Rochell and St. Maixant. But Henry the IV. constantly opposed the making of an Article of Faith, which did not feem very necessary to Salvation. Viguier having published a Book with the Title of the Theater of Antichrist, the Jesuit Gontier, a famous Converter of these Times, preached against it in a Violent and Seditious manner. The King forbid the publishing of the Book, and imposed Silence on this Outragious Controvertift. Du Plessis Mornay's

nay's Book, coming out immediately after these Disputes, which were not yet entirely stissed, it is not to be wonder'd that it made such a mighty Uproar It it be owned, this Gentleman who was very able and judicious in all other things, failed in his usual Consideration and Conduct here; the censure of the Sorbonne is no less extravas ant and ridiculous.

Troubles of Aix la Chr-pelle.

Mary de Medicis began to take that Method, which has fince been so constantly followed in the Reign of her Son, and is still in our Times. She applied her self to divide the Protestants of France, and weaken them; but did not refuse her good Offices, and the young King's Protection to those of Geneva and Germany, The Marquess de la Vieuville, du Brueil President of Mets, and Villers Hotman, were fent of her part to Aix la Chappelle towards the end of September, to endeavour to appeale the Troubles railed a little before in that City. The occasion of these was thus. In the year 1598, the Protestant Inhabitants of Aix la Chapelle, having drove out the Roman Catholick Magistrates, the City was put under the Interdict of the Empire. The Elector of Cologne had a Commission to see the Emperor's Orders put in Execution, and Accomplished it by the Aid of the Elector of Triers, and the Duke of Cleves. So the Catholick Magistrates were restored, and the Protestant Ministers in their turn drove out of the City. The Protestant **hewing**

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shewing great uneafiness to be thus deprived of the Exercise of their Religion, the Catholicks to strengthen their Interest, put themselves under the Protection of Albert, Arch-Duke of the Low Countries. The Revolution which hapned after in the Dutchies of Cleves and Juliers, which Countries fell into the Hands of two Protestant Princes, gave some Consolation to those of Aix la Chapelle, who were of the fame Religion. They went two Leagues off into a Village in the Country to pray to God, and hear his Word. This displeased the Roman Catholicks. The Magistrates forbid the Protestants to go into that Village upon pain of Imprisonment, and paying a great Fine. They added to this a Clause, that all who should not be able to pay the Fine, should be banished out of the Ciry.

Some by Vertue of this New Law, suffered Imprisonment, and after were condemned to perpetual Banishment. Their Friends and Neighbours moved with Compassion in taking their leaves of them, went in a considerable Number to the Magistrates, when they were met to present a Perition in savour of those poor Wretches. They alledged, that the Sentence against them was contrary to the Privileges of the Inhabitants, and required the Rigour of it to be abated. The Magistrates very far from considering this, Ordered every one to return immediately to their Respective Houses. Those who

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were thus remanded, began to exclaim against the Hardships of the Magistrates. and the Jesuits whom they lookt on as Authors of these violent Counsels. It is now twelve years that we have groaned under this Oppression, said some of them; have we not had Patience long enough? Shall we never think of Revenging three bundred Families of our fellow Citizens, driven out of their Country in less than eight days time? The love of Liberty is common to Men and Brutes. But it is the Advantage of Men to have Courage and Industry to defend it, and recover it when it is left, Our Ancestors have ever preferred Death to Slavery. Let us follow the Examples which they have given us. It is fweeter to die, than endure Banisoment. If God bless our just Efforts, for the Preservation of our Estates and Liberties. We shall obtain the free Exercise of our Religion into the Bargain.

Fired with this warm Speech, feveral run presently to Arms, and others joyn with them. They sieze the Town-House, oblige the Burgomaster to let out those who were unjustly kept in Prison, sieze the Keys of the Gates, and put up the Chains in all parts of the City. The Protestants being Masters of the Town, chose Captains, settled a New City Council, and took all ways they could think of, to prevent Trouble and Consusion. Being persuaded it would be hard to keep peace in the City, as long as any Jesuts remained in it, the New Council sent

Men to secure the good Fathers, and secure their College. The Consternation they were in, not giving them leave to Intrigue, they withdrew to their Church, to implore the Affistance of God, and their Great Patron Ignatius Loyela, whom the Pope had newly Canonized. When Bigots have rashly brought themselves into danger by their Cabals and Indifereet Zeal, they have a vain confidence that God will work Miracles to bring them out. The lesuits were carried to the Town-Houle, and put under a strong Guard, without having any harm done them. The Superior of their professed House at Paris, was then at Aix la Chapelle to drink the Waters. He was treated with all imaginable Respect, as soon as he discovered himself. The Townsmen thewed they did this in confideration of the King of France, and the Queen his Morber.

The Wise and Moderate Catholicks disapproved the Severity of the Magi-strates to the Protestants; several of them would not quit their Places in the City, or the Pretensions they had to them, but seeing in the Conclusion they were the weakest, they had Recourse to Arch-Duke Albert. The Protestants of their side, begged the Assistance of the Prince of Brandenburgh and Newburgh, Masters of the Neighbouring Countries of Cleves and Juliers. Count Solms Governor there for the Princes coming to Aix la Chapelle with

a good number of Horse, the Protestants remained absolute in the City. And now they publish a Manifesto, setting forth the Reasons they had to change the Form of their small Commonwealth for a time. In this they offered to agree to these Condirions; that those of the Confession of Ausburg, and the Reformed should have free Exercise of their Religon; that a certain Number of Protestants should be admitted to the Magistracy, with a Provision in the last place, that the Jesuits should be expelled the place.

The Regent of poles to calms the Troubles at Aix la Chapelle.

The Arch-Duke Albert, and the Elector France imer- of Cologne, had fent Persons on their part to labour for an Accommodation. Bur the Threats of the Persons cut by Arch-Duke Albert, having Exasperated the Minds of the People, their Mediation was not accepted. The Marquess de la Vieuville and his Collegues, were heard more favourably. After a Wife Remonstrance, they made the Protestants agree to a conditional Treaty, without prejudice to the Emperor's Power, or what he The Protestants thould order hereafter. agreed to wait for his Imperial Majesty's Decision of their Differences with the Catholicks, and that all things in the mean time, without excepting the College of Jesuits, should be Reestablished in the same condition they were, with a Provision that the Protestants should have the free Exercise of their Religion in some convenient Place, without the Walls of the ancient

cient City of Charlemagne. But the Catholick Magistrates refused to Sign the Treaty, upon a pretence that the Empepor had Commissioned Archduke Albert and the Elector of Cologne, to pacifie the Troubles in such manner as they should think fir.

In vain did Vieuville and his Collegues, make a second Remonstrance to the Catholick Magistrates, to encline them to They obstinately refused it, and the Jesuits retired into the Catholick Low Countries. And now the Envoys of France caused New Magistrates to be Elected. with the consent of the Protestants. The Ambaffador of the Arch-Dukes of the Low Countries at Paris, made an Instance to the Regent, to Annul the Regulations made by the Marquess de la Veuville, and his Collegues. But the Regent being informed of the truth of Things, declared to the Envoys of the Princes of Brandenburgh and Neuburgh, and those of Aix la Chapelle, that her Son would not suffer any thing to be done to the prejudice of their Masters.

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They were afraid in Germany, that the The Meeting of Litigious Succession of Cleves and Juliers, some Pretewould cause a Division among the Prote-stant Princes ftant Princes. The Elector of Branden- of Germany. burgh and the Duke of Neuburgh had their fairs of Pretentions; the Elector of Saxony too was Cleves and resolved to maintain the Rights of his Fa-Juliers. mily. The difference of these three great Protestant Houses, was like to give great Advan-

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1611.

Advantages to the Roman Catholicks. Divers Princes met in May at Introbock near Leipsic in Saxony, to Advise about Means to prevent this unfortunate Clashing, and bring the Pretenders to an Agreement. The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, divers Princes of the two Houses, and of that of Heffe, and some other agreed, that the Matter should be decided by the Emperor, the Countries of Cleves and Juliers, should be jointly Possessed and Admin fired by the Elector and Princes of Saxony, together with the Princes of Brandenburgh and Neuburgh, on condition that the Saxons should advance a certain Sum of Money to the two Princes which were in Possession. The Protestants were glad of this Means, to Reconcile the two E. lectoral Houses. But the Prince of Newburgh having refused to consent to it. notwithstanding the whole Assembly of Princes in the Protestant League at Rottemburg in Bavaria, intreated him earnestly to comply; this Treaty of Introbock had no effect.

The Princes of League meet at Kottem-Varia. .

The feveral Perfecutions which the the Protestant Reformed suffered in Bavaria, at Bambergh, Wirtsburgh, Cologne, Worms, and burgh in Ba- elsewhere, gave occasion to this Meeting of the Princes of the Protestant League They were glad they at Rottemburgh. still had the liberty to Regulate some common Matters, and take Measures to preferve and strengthen their Union. Emperor fent two Persons of his Part to

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the Affembly. Complaints were made to 1611. these Men, of the new Execution of di- Mercure vers things, which his Imperial Majesty Francois had promifed to the Protestants, and of the Perfecutions which those of the Reilgion fuffered in feveral places. The Emperors Deputies excused this, as well as they could. His Imperial Majesty, said they, will keep peace among the Subjects of his Hereditary Countries, without any Di-Stinction of Religion. But having no Power to Control the Archbishop of Cologne, nor the Biftoop of Wirtsburg, and Bambergh, be cannot be Responfible for what those Prelates do. The Electors mift meet in a little time at Nuremberg, to debate there of the General Affairs of the Empire. The Emperor defires to act, so as to give every one Satisfaction. The Protestant Princes being accustomed to these fort of Delays, replied in high Terms, if the Emperor deferred any longer to keep his Word, they would make such Provision as the State of Affairs should require.

Matthias King of Hungary, who hoped to procure himself to be chosen King of the Romans, sent the Baron de Polheim to Rossembergh, to manage the Princes of the Protestant League. It concerned him not to have them Traverse him in his Defigns. Polheim thanked the Princes for the Affection they shew'd to his Master, assured them of the Princes for the Affection they shew'd to his Master, assured them of the Principle of Matthias, and communicated to them the Agreement made between the Emperor and his Brother.

Brother. After the Complements which Princes Reciprocally make each other on the like occasions, the Protestants prayed the King of Hungary to forbear all forts of Violence, to preserve a Respect for the Emperor his Brother, and prevent the Foreigners of his Council, from taking Measures which might disturb the Repole of Germany. The Republick of Venice, the Swiss Cantons, and the Seignoury of Geneva, had likewise sent to the Meeting of the Protestant Princes. The Venetians were upon their Guard against the House of Austria, and especially against the King of Spain, and Ferdinand Archduke of Gratz. The Swiffes and the People of Geneva, feared the Enterprizes of the Duke of Savoy. This made them feek the Goodwill of all the Protestant Princes of Germany. A like Affiftance was promised to the Seignory of Geneva, and a very civil, obliging Answer was given to the Republick of Venice, and the Swift Cantons.

The Affair of Aix la Chapelle was brought under debate; The Princes resolved to defend the Protestant Citizens if there were occasion for it, but they prest them to live peaceably with the Catholicks. They undertook to intercede with the Magistrates of Cologné, to admit the Protestants to go without Scandal or Fear of being Disturbed, into the Countries of the Neighbouring Princes, to pray to God with those of their Religion. But if the

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Magistrates refused to comply with this Requeft, they were exhorted to fuffer patiently, and to avoid committing any Violence. Besides this, they writ to the Bishop of Bamberg and Worms, to pray the first not to disturb his Protestant Subjects, and the latter not to introduce the Jefus its, and to fend away those he had admit-I take pleasure in relating these particulars. It shews the Wisdom and Moderation of the Protestant Princes of They did not take Arms for Germany. Religion, till the last Extremity. These Princes farther fent into France, England, and the United Provinces to renew the Alliances, and thank the two Kings and the States-General, for the Aid they gave in the War of Cleves and Juliers. In the Conclusion, several Counties and Towns of the Empire upon their defire, were admitted into the League, and the Affairs of greatest consequence, were remitted to the Judgment of the Electoral Diet appointed at Nuremberg.

Christian the Second, Elector of Saxony, The Elector of died of an Apoplexy before. John George Saxony's his Brother succeeded him. Excess of Death. Drinking is a common fault among the German Princes. It is surprizing the unfortunate and untimely Death of so many of their Kinsmen, as are daily killed by the excess of Wine, should not divert them from a Vice fo unbecoming Persons of their Rank, and so contrary to Chriflianity. Christians ever rewarded the

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Mercure Francois 1611. greatest Drinkers best. His Successor was forced to be at a greater charge to redeem the Castles and Lordships which he had lavishly given to the Companions of his Debauches. There is a Report that the Princess his Mother Sent a Minifter to him, to exhort him to leave off The Elector placed him at his Table; and knowing he loved Money, promised him a great Golden Cup, if he would drink it off at a certain number of times. The Minister accepted the Condition, but was drunk before he finished it: The Elector caused him to be set in a Chair, and ordered the drunken Preacher to be carried back to the Princess. The next time Madam, he bid them tell her, Make a better choice of your Men. If you would have me profit by your Advices, fend such Men as are more proof against the Temptation, than I am. Princes often would want place in History, if it was not necessary now and then to divert the Reader, and paint the Folly of Vice.

The Electoral Diet at Nurembergh.

John George the New Elector of Saxony, came to Nurembergh with his Collegues, about the beginning of October. The first Assair treated of there, was the Contest between the Dukes of Deux-Ponts and Neuburgh, about the Administration of the Electorate, during the Minority of the young Count Palatine of the Rhine. This was to continue till he was arrived at 18 years of Age, according to the Golden Bull. Frederick VI. Elector

Mercure Francois 16:0, & 1611.

Palatine,

Palatine, deceased the preceding year, had given by his Will the Guardianship of his Children, and the Administration of the Electorate to John Duke of Deux-Ponts. He was received at Heidelbergh in this Quality, notwithstanding the Opposition of Philip Lewis Duke of Neuburgh, who pretended to the Administration, as being the nearest Kinsman, as is appointed in the Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV. The Counfellors of the Palatinate liked the Duke of Deux-Ponts best, because he was of the Established Religion of their Country, whereas Neuburgh was of the Ausburgh Confession. They grounded this Preference on the Examples of several Electors Palarine, who appointed Guardians to their Children, and Administrators of the Electorate, to the prejudice of their nearest Kinsmen. The Affair was remitted to the Emperor. Till a full Decision of the Guardianship and Administration were adjudged with a provision to the Duke of Deux-Ponts. Electoral Diet of Nurembergh, did not any more give a Defensive Judgment. It was concluded here, that the Duke of Deux-Ponts, should keep the Place of Count Palatine, without prejudice to the Duke of Newburgh's Title.

In the beginning of November, the E- The Fletters lectors fent a Deputation to the Emperor, Demandsof to represent to him the things which they the Emperor. thought proper to defire from him. These were, that Justice should be Reestablished;

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That he should chuse more Faithful Counfellors; That he should Summon a General Diet; That the Electors having no design to chuse a King of the Romans, without the consent of his Imperial Majesty, or to remove the Empire from the House of Austria; Rodolphus would Name his Successor. The Electors assured him at the same time, they did not approve of the Attempts of his Brother Matthias. In the close, they Admonished him that the ill Administration of the Empire proceeded from his Majesty's not following the example of his Predecessors, who used to consult with the Electors.

The Answer of the Emperor Rodolphus.

Rodolphus only gave a General Answer. I know, fays he, the Empire do's want a King of the Romans. The Electors have spoke to me of chusing one, and I design to Nominate one, who is fit to fill the Place. I Should have done this fooner, if the Troubles in Bohemia bad not entirely taken me up. But before I declare my felf, I shall be glad to fee a General Diet, and I will be present there. The Electors should take care that I may speak freely there, what I think to be for the good of the Empire. The Electors having received the Emperor's Answer, broke up the 12th of November, after they had resolved to hold a Diet at Francfort in the Month of April, the next year for the Election of a King of the Romans.

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Europe was then in Mourning for the 1611. Death of Margaret of Austria, Wife to The Death of Philip the III. King of Spain. She left be- the Queen of hind her four Sons and two Daughters. Philip, Charles, Ferdinand, Alphonfo and Ann, whom we shall soon see Queen of France and Margaret. There was a Solemn Service for the Queen of Spain in the Cathedral Church of Paris. The Princes of Conde, Conti, and the Duke of Guise, performed the Honours, and the Archbishop of Ambrun spoke the Funeral Oration.

The House of Guise had not long be- The Death of fore lamented the Death of the Duke of the Duke and Mayenne, the Famous Head of the Holy Dutchesi of League in France. He died at Soissons the beginning of October. The Duke of Aiguillon his Son Succeeded him, and took the Name of the Duke of Mayenne. The Father had gained a mighry Reputation in War; but his Remissness made him lose many fair opportunities of encreasing it. His Revolt against King Henry the III. was pardonable for the defire he had to Revenge the Death of his two Brothers, if it were lawful, I will not fay for a Christian, but for any Man whatever, to kindle a Civil War to Revenge a private Injury. His Opposition of Henry the IV. was not wholly the effect of his Zeal for the Old Religion. The Duke of Mayenne was more moderate against this Prince, after he left the Communion of the Reformed, than before. The ill Humour which

which the Milcarrying of the League had put him into, made him take in Defpair, a Refolution to retire into Spain. But the Clemency, or rather the Policy of Henry, Ropt him. The King proposed very Advantagious Conditions to him. The Duke had in some manner deferved well from him, though he ftrove to exclude him from the Crown. Whilft the League was active, Mayenne asways op-posed the delign of Philip, to procure a Prince of his House to be chosen. ther, he kept the Duke of Guile his Nephew fleddy, who was dazled with the deceitful promifes of the Spaniards. When they proposed to the Duke of Mayenne to follow the Example of Hugh Caper, who referved the Sovereignry for himself, permitting the Governors of Provinces and confiderable Towns, to make themselves Dukes and Counts Vaffals of the Crown. I would former die, replied he generously, than make an Advantage of the Misfortunes of my Country. Henrietta of Savoy his Wife died of Regret a few days after him. and both had the same Funeral Solemnity at Soiffons.

The Dutches of Lorrain, and the Cardinal deGonthe Court of France.

The Court was at Fontainbleau, when they heard of the Death of the Duke and Dutchels of Mayenne. The Cardizaga came to nal of Gonzaga, and the Dutchess of Lorrain his Sifter, were come thither to pay a Visit to Mary de Medica their Aunt. They had great Honours done them, and were regaled with all the Divertions which

Book II. LEWIS XIII.

which the place afforded. It is reported, 1611. the Dutchels of Lorrain came to mention the Match which the late King had proposed himself, of his Eldest Son with the Princels of Lorrain. This was the best thing the Regent could do for the young King's advantage. This Alliance would have brought him the Durchies of Bar Mem. recondite, To. II. and Lorrain. But the Imprudent Queen p. \$77,578. managed by the Pensioners of Spain, had contracted so strict an Engagement with the Court of Madrid, that nothing could divert her from the double Marriage which the Pope and Great Dake of Tufcany carried on with all their Power. The Ambaffador of Spain observing frictly all the steps of the Dutchess of Lorrain, talked in big Language. That the King of France could not have two Wives, that his Match with the Infanta was concluded, and that Philip would not fuffer himfelf to be mocked, without punishing the Authors. If Mary de Medicis had contemned the Threats of the Spaniards, what harm would have enfued? All true Frenchmen, and especially the Protestants, exclaimed against this double Match. land and the United Provinces, traverled it with great Application. Aersens Ambaffador from the States General, underhand excited the Hugenor Party to oppose a Treaty which must be prejudicial to all the Protestants in Europe. courses of the Spanish Ambassador, were only vain Romances. His weak Mafter who

who was over-strained to support his House in Germany, was he in a condition to awe France, who was in a good Union at that time with its Neighbours. But the Regent neither understood her own. nor her Sons true Interest.

The Count of contented, contraits new Ties with the Prince of Conde.

Her Ministers jealous that the Count Soiffons dif- of Soiffons their Enemy, would unite himfelf with the Marquess of Anore, took care to push on their Mistress to remove a Prince, who aimed to drive them from Court. The first occasion of Discontent which the Regent gave him, was the refulal of at thing the had made him hope for some Months before: The Dutchy of Alenson was engaged to the Duke of Wirtembergh. Soissons who had received Money from the Duke of Savoy, for the Goods and Estate which the Countess his Wife had in Piemont, had a mind to employ it in acquiring that Dutchy, by reimburfing with his Money, what the Crown owed to the Duke of Wirtembergh. In order to this, it was necessary first to obtain the King's consent. de Medicis prepossessed by her Ministers, refused this to the Count of Soissons, Would you, fays the roughly to him, obtain a Dutchy which is designed as Honour appropriated to a Son of France ? I fee you have no small Designs. The Regent forefaw the Count moved at this Repulse, would discover his Resentment, and for this Reason, the hastily recalled the Prince

Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis.

of Conde and the Duke of Epernon to 1611.

Court, to oppose him.

The Project of the Queen and the Ministers, did not succeed in every point. The Marquels of Cauvres a Confident of Soissons, seeing the poor Count thus jarring with the Regent and Ministers, and secretly incensed against Conchini, though he always kept in appearance fair with him, though he could have recourse to nothing now to support him at Court, but to unite himself entirely with the Prince of Conde his Nephew, and oppose all those who combined against him, by the Power of that Interest, which their Birth gives to all Princes of the Blood in France, efpecially in the time of Minority. Cauvres then fet himself to treat with Beaumont, Son of the first Resident de Harlay, a Confident of the Prince of Conde, who was then expected at Court, to fettle a good understanding between the Uncle and Nephew. They agreed the two Princes should see one another in the Beaumont House, which was not far from Fontainebleau.

This Interview gave the Queen a Jealousie, though it was pretended only to be a Divertisement, and a Huntingmatch. The Count of Soissons thought to remove the Umbrage Mary de Medicis took at this, by bringing the Marquess of Ancre over to the Meeting. They go together to Beaumont. After a great deal of Diversion in the Day-time, the two Princes en-

tertained

tertained each other with Discourse, till it was late in the Night. They bind themselves firictly, and mutually promise not to receive any Favour or Satisfaction from the Queen, but by common confent, and engage that if one be obliged to leave the Court for ill Treatment, the other shall quit it at the fame time, and not return but by agreement. This Union was made perpetual, and lafted till the Death of Count Soiffons.

The faculty of the three Panegyricks of Ignatius Loyola.

The Sorbonne was divided as well as Paris Censures the Court : Duval declared for the Jesuins; Filefac Theologue of the Church of Paris and divers other Eminent Doctors were strangely averse to the Society. good Fathers are very defirous to appear perfectly prudent, but they are deficient in this point, when they fet themselves to Difcourse of their Saint Ignatius, and the Advantages of their Society. Paul the V. their good Friend, having Canonised this Man, (truly extraordinary in more than one manner) and allowed them to celebrate his Feaft, the Jesuits did what the Monks do on like occasions: What shalf I say, they strove to surpass each other? They gave a thousand fine Spectacles of Devotion in their Churches. The Men of Wit, who are Spectators of these Ceremonies, cannot forbear Laughing at the Foppery of them. But those who have a real Senfe of Religion when they Reflect seriousty on the Apotheofes, introduced into Christianity, and the Prophane Pageantry

till Pageaptry in Churches, where the Worrill Pageantry in Churches, where the Worrind hip ought to be Pure and Spiritual. True
hip ought to be Pure and Spiritual. True
hip on the firange Corruption of the most
onloly, and most August of all Religions?
It to the most prophane part of all these Soemmities, are the Panegyricks spoke of
and he New Saints. Here he is set above all
thers, above the Prophets and Apostles,
the highest of the parallel with Fesus Christ
imself. The Jesuits did not fail to take
as the Preachers, as were most disposed to
its; alue Ignatius Loyola. And as the Spanitrii, eds are more Extravagant in their Superition and Impiety than others, several
The ermons were made and printed in that The ermons were made and printed in that country, with which the Enemies of the in bod Fathers in France, diverted the Publick at the Expense of the Society.

Ad- A Limofin Jesuit thought he had done

V. confiderable piece of Service, in Translafed ong three Spanish Sermons preached at ore wil, Valentia, and Barcelona, on the to east of the New Bleffed Ignatius of hat oyola. The one of the Preachers was hat a Augustin, the other two were Dominio- ins. The good Limosin imagined that the Frenchmen seeing his Patron praised by he Religious Men of a different Order. ele bey would eafily believe the Institutor their Society, was the greatest Saint ho Paradife. But whilst he thought to ork Miracles, he drew a new Storm h his Brethren, who had work enough fore to support themselves at Paris, and

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The History of Book II

1611. elsewhere. Some Learned Men, and Eminent for their true Piety, as it was said brought to Filesac Theologue of Paris, and Curate of St. John in Greve, the French Translation, and four Propositions extracted out of them, desiring to know if the Faculty of Paris thought it sit, a Do-

ctor of their Body should give his Appro-

bation to such Pieces.

Filelac proposed the Question in one of the Meetings, which the Faculty ordinarily have upon the first Day of the Month This was in the beginning of October; One of the Propositions was this, Tha Ignatius with his Name writ on Paper could do more Miracles than Moses, and a could do more Miracles than Moses, and a many as the Apystles. The second pretended, that the Life of Ignatius was so Hely, and so elevated in the Opinion of Hely, and so elevated in the Opinion of Hely, and so elevated in the Opinion of Hely, and so levated in the Opinion of Hely ven, that only the Popes as St. Peter, the Engresses as the Mother of God, or some Streeting Monarch as God the Father, and hely Son, bad the Happiness to see it One of the two Dominican Preachers as serted, that the Founders of preceding Opinion of the two Dominican Preachers as serted, that the Founders of preceding Opinion where some thing only wanting to consumption of the two mate his Praise. That God did not make the mate his Praise, That God did not make the World for him. There was nothing Go be excepted against in the third Serme the but that the Preachers had advanced, the the Martyr Ignatius was particularly Fr voted to the Holy Father, and the Pope Ar Ron Fa

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Rome, as the lawful Successor of Jesus 1611.

d, Christ, and his Vicar upon Earth.

Andrew Duval a Famous Doctor of the sch Sorbonne, who was in the Interest of the x- Jesuits and the Court of Rome, opposed if the Censure of these four Propositions; They may be piously Interpreted, said he. They may be piously Interpreted, said he. But the Enemies to the Society prevailed. What Pious Interpretation could Duval give to words which were manifestly Impious? The three first Propositions were not condemned as False, Heretical, Execrable, Impious, and full of Blasphemies. This Censure was more Just and Judicious, than that of Du Plessis Mornay's Book. It will be Masters of the Sorbonne, were more Reserved and Circumspect on the Hourth Proposition; the Authority of the Hourth Proposition; the Authority of the Hourth Proposition; The Authority of the Hourth Proposition of the H SThe one is true and Orthodox, that the ad b Pope is the Vicar of Jesus Christ upon Earth.

the But the other, that the Pope is the Lawful

as a Successor of Jesus Christ, is manifestly False

of and Heretical. The Jesuit was not long
the, without answering. He wrote an Apoloon legetick Letter against the Censure. Here him by a Subtilty which a Limosin would nemfur ver have thought of, if he had not been inthe aftructed somewhere else besides at Brieve la ing Gaillarde, he seigned not to have a Copy of ermethe Condemnation. This was to avoid d, the speaking of the Power of the Pope. His Friends, he pretended had sent him an Pope Article quite different from that which the Rot Faculty had Censured. There is nothing

more violent than the conclusion of this good Father's Apology. He Reproaches the Doctors of the Sorbonne, as those of their Society always Reproach their Adversaries, that they are Huguenots in their Souls. The Sorbonne Curfes the Jesuits, says he, while the Hereticks at Charenton, pray to God for the Sorbonists.

Reflections on the Miracles ascribed to Saint Igntius, and the Character given of him.

An Author who was Contemporary with the Rife of the Society, honeftly owns in the first Edition of his Life of Ignatius, that he wrought no Miracles. He labour'd to give good Reasons, that a Man might be a Saint without doing any. The Establishing a Society which was become so Numerous, so Famous and Powerful, in so small a time, seem'd a great Miracle to the Author. But this was not enough to Canonize Ignatius; and for this Reason, they were obliged to seek for Till this was done, Rome would never put him in her Martyrology. And what Mortification must this be to so good Children, that their Father was not a Saint of the first Order. As soon as once they got it in their Head, that Ignatius must work Miracles, as well as other Saints, they found a Million of Glorious The Author who had been too honest, Retracted fifteen years after, as handsomly as he could. His Saint then wrought some every day, if we may believe the second Edition of his Book. As for the flourishing Estate of the Company, before and after the Death of the Founder, thole

those who shall read the History of its Settlement and Progress, will find nothing more than Human in it; if they reflect on the Nature of Mankind, and what is proper to give Interest and Reputation in a Body Composed and Governed as the Church of Rome has been for many

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I am Aftonished that Men of Sense and Learning, should become Disciples of such a Person as Ignatius is Represented to be, in the different Histories of his Life, wrote by Jesuits, with too much Sincerity in some places, and too much Art and Disguise in others. But my Surprize is over, when I Reflect that the greatest Men fall into Superstition and Trisling. They might fancy there was something Divine in the Irregular and Fanatick Fancy of a Spaniard, who imposed on the World by an Exterior shew of Gravity and Mortification. When they saw this, they were soon ready to serve him in his vast Designs. Ignatius who was Master of as much Craft and Diffimulation as any Man in the World, knew how to make his Advantage of the Light which the Admirers of his Sanctity gave him, and make the World believe he drew that out of his own Stock, which he learnt from others.

The Jesuits have pusht the Extravagance so far, as to compare their Saint with the C.esars and Alexanders. They came nearer the Mark in my mind, who

faid he was an absolute Don Quixot in Devotion. The good Fathers must have an ill Opinion of Mankind, if they believe them capable of esteeming their Founder, after what they relate themselves of his Paladin and Romantick Actions, of his Whimfical fancy of becoming a Knight of

pace par le P. Bohours.

the Virgin, and an Infinity of other Cir-Vie de S. Ig. cumftances of his Life. The reading of it politely writ in French, fully convinced me that Melchior Canus, a Learned and Judicious Bishop of the Canaries, saw perfectly well the Genius of the Man, in a Conference he had with him at Rome. Ignatius there without any necessity told him so many filly Stories of his pretended Sanctity, of the Persecutions he had suffered in Spain, of the Revelations and Private Favours he received from God Almighty, that this clearfighted Divine foon perceived in him, a great Distraction and Pride of Mind.

Canus adds one very fingular Paffage. Ignatius brought him a pretended Saint, who was a Member of the Infant Society. Canus foon discover'd this Companion of Ignatius, was an absolute Idior. He mixt so much Folly and Heresie in his Discourse, that Ignatius was in some Confusion. This good Man, says he to Canus, is not an Heretick, but bis Mind is a little out of order at present. He bas his Intervals at times. The New Moon makes bim talk fo Heretically. A Man who can let a Fool pals on him for a great

great Saint, can he be very wife himfelf? Melchior Canus by the Jesuits own Confession, had so ill an Opinion of the Institution of their Company, that he applied to them this Prophecy of St. Paul. In the last days there skall be Men lovers of their own selves, Covetous, Boasters, false Accufers , Blasphemers , Ungrateful , Wicked , Despisers of those that are good, having a Form of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof. The Character of this Prelate might be Rejected, as proceeding from a particular prejudice against the Jesuits, if good Fathers had not given occasion to a certain number of the most Eminent Men of the Roman Communion, to maintain that Canus had Reason. The only Secret the Society has yet found to elude those bloody Reproaches, which are often too well proved, is to recriminate, and let up the cry of a Heretick, against those Adversaries who are like to ruin them.

The Inhabitants of Troies in Champagne, A Diftur do not pass for the most refined People in bance at the World, and yet they have shewn a Troies in Champagne, great deal of good Sense, in resusing to about the Serreceive the Jesuits into their City. When tlement of the this has been proposed, the Townsmen Jesuits in that City. have ever answered, That Society can never do anything but Mischief where-ever it comes, In this Matter they think, as all People formerly did in France, Venice, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary and Poland. The Jesuits found it hard to gain Admisfion in those Countries, and when they

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were better known, great endeavours were used to drive them out. The good People of Troies learning Wisdom at the expence of others, remained Inflexible in their Resolution, to continue without any Jesuits among them. It is no small praise to that City, that in the Reign of Lewis XIV. fo great a Friend to that Society, they opposed an Intendant, and a Bishop who engaged to establish the Jesuits where they had more than once tryed in vain to place themselves. The good Fathers have reafon to compare themselves to the Thunder of War, and the Conquerors of Antiquity. They cannot suffer a little corner of the Earth, never so inconsiderable a Town, should have the Courage to hold out against them.

In the preceding Reign, they made three several Attempts to enter Troies. Henry granted them Letters of Juffion, as they are called, to the Inhabitants to receive them. But the Town had the good Fortune or Industry, to frustrate the Sollicitations of the Jesuits. In the year 1611. they began the Charge again. In an Affembly held at Troies for the Election of a New Principial of the College, the Bishop, the President, and some of the old Faction of the League, demanded to have the Jesuits let in. But the Chapter of the Cathedral, that of the Collegiate Church of St. Stephen, the greatest Number of the Clergy, the Presidial, the Officers of the Town-house; in short, all

who

who declared for the late King in the time of the League, would have no Jesuits. It was to no purpose, to say the Queen had ordered they should be admitted. In case it be so, said they, we will obey. But we will first go and throw our selves at her Majesties Feet, and make our

Humble Remonstrances to her.

The Bishop then seeing it was impossible to Surmount fo great an Opposition, broke up the Affembly, under colour of making farther enquiry in a more numerous one. This raised a great Commotion among a People jealous of their Liberties and Privileges. The Jesuits Fa-Ction had privately dispatcht away to the Court, a Curate of the City, with a Verbal Process drawn up after their manner. In this they laid before the Regent, that the Inhabitants defired the Jesuits for the instructing their Youth. As soon as the opposite Party was informed of what had paffed, they drew up a Verbal Procels to the contrary, and a Counsellor of the Prefidial was fent away with it immediately to the Court. The Curate, who was gone some days before, obtained a Letter from the Regent for the holding an extraordinary Meeting. This they hoped would be more favourable to the Jesuits. When the News was spread through the Town, that Father Coton, who interessed himself in this Affair, had surprized the Queen, it made a greater Noise than before. It was fear'd the People would K. 3

would rife. Prassin Governor of Troies, applied himself with all diligence to prevent Disorder, and all the confiderable Bodies in the City met to disavow by an Authentick Act, what the Friends of the Tesuits had done of their own Head. Pithou Mayor of the City, the Dean of the Cathedral Church, and two or three others, were named to go and lay their Complaints before the Regent. They fet forth the Reasons which they had to refuse the good Fathers a College among them. Some of these were taken from the Situation, the Commerce and Convenience of the City, which would not let them admit in the Jesuits. Others were grounded on the Humour and Behaviour of the Society, which did not fuit with the Temper of the Inhabitants.

These Honest Patriots said, without disguising the Matter, that the setling so great a number of Jesuits in the best Cities of the Kingdom, might serve to make the Society great, but was Injurious to the Publick. Since our City, added they, was reduced by Henry the IV. we have lived in perfect Tranquility. The Jesuits will come here to revive the old Quarrels of the League. We shall soon have two contrary Factions; one influenced by the Society, who will be the Good Catholicks, and the other the true lovers of their Country. The first will ever be crying, we are Hereticks, Latitudinarians, Worldly minded Men, and Lukewarm loofe Catholicks. Has not P. Binet had the Infolence

lence to treat us in this manner, in a Sermon which he preached at Troies? No sooner do the Fesuits get sooting any where, but they pretend strait to govern the World; they fow Divisions, insinuate themselves into Families to discover their Secrets, what passes between Min and Wife, cannot escape their Curiofity. The Queen being better informed of the Affair of Troies, answered to the Petition of the Inhabitants, whose Deputies were presented by the Duke of Nevers, Governor of the Province, that she had been given to understand, the Town defired to have Jesuits. Since it is not so, said her Majesty, I will not confrain the Inhabitants to receive Men they do not like. She wrote to Prassin to Advife him, and the President for the surure to moderate their too Impetuous Zeal for the Settlement of the good Fathers.

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The first Project of their Institution, The Proces was conceived in the Bosom of the Uni- the University versity of Paris. But she has always re- of Paris agarded the Society, as a Monstrous Abor- gainst the Jo-When the Jesuits began to make spening their themselves known in France, the Faculty college. of Divinity of Paris declared Solemnly, after a mature Examination of the Bulls. which two Popes had granted them, and the Rules which the Founder prescribed his Disciples, that the New Institution was Dangerous to the Faith, capable of di-Sturbing the Peace of the Church, and in one Word, more tending to destroy than edifie. When the Jesuits desired to be incor-K 4 porated .

porated in the University, she rejected them with Indignation and Contempt. When they attempted to teach publickly, the opposed them with Vigour. The Pafquiers and Arnauds, undertook her De-The Learned Arguments are still extant, in which they lay before the Parlement of Paris, the Reasons which the University had to declare against this Hermaphrodite Body, said they, which is neither Ecclesiastical nor Regular. The Attempt of 3ohn Chaftel against the Person of Henry IV. was the cause which moved the Parlement of Paris, (whose most Eminent Members were bred in that Univerfity) to give a terrible Sentence against them, commanding all Jesuits to remove out of Paris, and all other Cities within three days, and out of the Kingdom in fifteen, branding them for Corrupters of Youth, D. Sturbers of the Publick Peace, and Enemies to the King and Government. After, when Henry IV. at the Sollicitation of the Pope, at the Inftigation of Sillery and Villeroy, and Instances of de la Varenne, the Infamous Minister of his Pleasures, had granted them his Letters Patents for their Reestablishment, the Prefident de Harlay employed all the power of his Wit and Eloquence, to perswade the King this Act of his was inconfiftent with the Safety of his Person, the Preservation of his Authority, and the Welfare of his Kingdom. But neither the Decrees of Sorbonne, nor the excellent Difcourles

courses of two Illustrious Advocates, nor the wife Remonstrances of the gravett Magistrate of that time, could hinder the King from being worse advised, than the Mayor and good Commonalty of Troies in Champagne. Henry resolved to forget the League, was first conceived among the Jesuits; and that Barriere and Chaftel who made an Attempt on his Life, were instructed and pushed on by Varade and Guignard, Jesuirs. His Imprudence cost him dear, poor Prince! Ravillac profited by the Doctrines and Lessons of the Wri-

ters and Doctors of the Society.

The World was not exceedingly Surprized to see them, within three Months after the bloody Death of Henry IV, when all the Preachers of Paris were exclaiming against the Jesuits, and an Infinity of Pamphlets had been published to expose Temper and Doctrines, have the boldness to desire a Permission from the New King to open their College of Mercure Clermont, which had been thut up ever Francois, fince their first coming to Paris, and to 1611. make their Publick Lectures there. All Men were now pretty well acquainted with the humour of that Body. A long experience had taught them, that they are not confounded with Noise. That Just and Reasonable Confusion, which makes other Men fearful and modest, encreases the Courage and Boldness of these good Fathers. That which most amazed all Honest Men, was to see the Regent and Ks her

her Council give the Jesuits Letters Patents to be confirmed in Parlement, at the same time that these Magistrates all well affected to the King and Government's Repose, declared peremptorily in their Decrees, that the Doctrines of Mariana, and some other Writers of the Society, had plunged the Knife in the Heart of the two last Kings of France. Father Coton was not less busie in the Hall, than at Court. He demanded the entring the King's Letters with the same boldness that he had Sollicited the Regent and her Ministers for them. But the Rector and the Faculties of the University of Paris opposing this, the Decision of the Affair was remitted till the following vear.

During a pretty long delay caused by the Proceedings and Formalities of Law, the Jesuits got together four-score or a hundred Scholars, whom they taught in the College of Clermont. At length the matter came to a publick Hearing. This was in the Month of December 1611. La Merscliere Advocate for the University made a long Discourse, where he repeated with Emphasis, what Pasquier, Arnaud, and the first President de Harlay had formerly said against the Jesuits. He added, all they had been accused of having done in England, Holland, at Venice, Genoa and elsewhere. The Divinity of these good Fathers was not forgot. He shewed the Corruption and Danger of it. In the last place,

place, the University concluded by the Mouth of her Advocate, that if the Parlement would not have regard to her wholfom Remonstrances, the should at least have the Consolation of having done her Duty, and having given more than once by her repeated Oppositions, to the Enterprizes of the Society, a certain Testimony of her fincere and continual Affection for the Service of the King, and the Good of her Country. Montholon Advocate for the Jesuits, answered in a very thort Discourse. He affected too to speak fo low, that the greatest Part of the Auditory, could not hear his Defence. Atter this, Hardivillier Rector of the University, spoke a long Harangue in Latin: This was rather the Declamation of a College Rhetorician, than a Solid and Eloquent Discourse. The Advocate General Servin spoke according to Custom after the rest, and concluded in favour of the University.

The Parlement being tired with the Importunities of the Jesuits, thought of a good Expedient to free themselves. They proposed to them to subscribe to four Articles, repugnant to the Doctrines imputed to them. You cannot be incorporated with the University, nor have Permission to teach publickly, said the Magistrate to the good Fathers, unless your Sentiments agree with those of the Sorbonne. This Turn was well devised. They foresaw the Jesuits would never sign such Propositions,

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for fear of incurring Displeasure at Rome, and their Refusal would clear the Parlement at Court, for not passing the King's Letters. Can we, the Magistraces might have faid, allow a Body to teach publickly, which refuses to subscribe the Doctrine commonly received in France? The first President de Verdun, then ordered eight Tesuits to be called, who were in Court, to hear the iffue of their Caufe. Will you, fays he to them, Subscribe thefe four Propositions, and undertake your General shall likewise do it? The first was, That a General Council is above the Pope. The fecond, That the Pope has no power over the Temporalties of Sovereigns, and that he cannot deprive them by Excommunication. The third, That a Priest who by way of Confession, comes to the Knowledge of a Defign or Conspiracy against the Person of a King or his Government, or any Act of High Treason, is obliged to Reveal the Matter to the Magistrate. The fourth, That Churchmen are Subjects of the Temporal Prince. and Civil Magistrate.

The Provincial of the Jeluits did not know how to extricate himself in this difficulty. In our Statutes, says he with a Modest and Devout Air, taking a Book and setting himself to read, We have a positive Order to obey the Laws of the Country where we live; but we cannot promise any thing for our General. We will write to him upon this Matter, and do all we can to obtain his consent. The Advocate Montholon

tholon seeing what Confusion his Clients were in, had a greater Presence of Mind, than the good Father Provincial. Feluits, fays he, will readily follow the Laws of the University. When these four Propositions shall be Signed by the Sorbonne, the Fesuits will not make any scruple of Subscribing them. The dextrous Montholon knew there were so many Leaguers and Doctors in the Pope's Interest amongst the Serbonists, that they would never agree in these four Propositions. And if the Faculty would have resolved to have Signed them, the Court was so afraid of offending the Pope, they would not have suffer'd them to do it. So much Respect and Deference had Mary de Medicis for his Holiness:

The first President himself embarassed by the Advocates Reply, would feem not to understand it; being well pleas'd that the Jesuits had not handsomly explained themselves, on what was proposed to them. He pronounced a Decree, forbidding any of that Society to teach the Youth at Paris, or read any publick Lecture there. The Members of the University Triumphed, made a thousand Verses, some good, some bad, in praise of their Judges and their Advocate. The Jesuits obeyed the Decree. They dismift their Scholars, continued filent, and did not write at all, or at least did it under the borrowed Names of their Friends. Here they comforted themselves on their Disgrace, shewed the Impru-

Imprudence of those who would renew Disputes out of Season, which might create Differences between France and the Pope. Every Man discoursed of the Decree of Parlement, as his Fancy led him. Some took part with the Jesuits, others with the University. The Pope's Nuncio complained of the Parlements having required such a Subscription of the Jesuits. The Cardinal Gonzaga was then at Paris. He was offended the good Fathers had been so ill spoken of. Montholon whose Voice was so low in his short pleading to the Audience, printed a more ample Argument the following year. This Discourse was divided into three Parts. In the two first he justified the Conduct and Institution of the Jesuits. The third answered the Objections made against the Doctrine of the Society, and the Perverse Consequences which its Adversaries drew from it.

Mercure Francois 1612.

Disputes conand Predeftination.

The Zeal which the Jesuits shewed the cerning Grace latter end of the last, and the beginning of this Age, for the Doctrine opposite to that of St. Augustin and Thomas Aquinas in the Matter of Grace and Predestination, drew still a greater number of Enemies on them, the Advocate of the University Reproaching them with this in his Not only the Order of Dominicans, which is more Potent in Italy and Spain, than in France (where it is trampled on with the rest of the Mendicants) had declared openly against the Jesuits. But a great Number of the Doctors of Paris, and

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and Louvain, bigotted to the Hypotheles of St. Augustin and Aquinas condemned too against the Society. They decreed it as Pelagian, At least, said they, she attempts to revive the Sentiments of Cassian, and the old Priests, who were called Semipelagians. The Dispute began in Spain, upon occasion of a Book of Molina a famous Jesuit.

This Author boafted of having found out a new System to reconcile the Certainty of God's Fore-Knowledge, and the Operation of Grace, with the Liberty of Man. The Invention pleased the Society, and she adopted it. This was a Deviation from the first Laws of the Founder, who ordered the should follow the Do-Ctrine of Thomas Aguinas. When the Jefuits reproached their Adversaries with maintaining the Sentiments of Luther and Calvin, condemned in the Council of Trent, they recriminated inftantly: Your Hypothesis, said they to the good Fathers, is the same with that of the ancient Enemies of St. Auftin in Gaul.

The Dispute was so warm in Spain, that the Matter was remitted to Rome. Clement VIII, resolved to determine this Controversie. It is reported, that he not only made Preparations for this, by a serious Examen of all the Questions, for which he setled a famons Congregation of Divines and Cardinals, but farther had recourse to Prayer, Fasting, and extraordinary Mortifications. The Holy Father believed that the Holy Ghost had inspired him to

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condemn the Sentiments of the Jesuits. The Bull was ready. But to speak after the manner of the People beyond the Mountains, God did not permit Clement to pass on the Church his private Illusions for Divine Oracles. The Pope died very lu kily for the Jesuits. Paul V. pleased with the Zeal the good Fathers had shewn for the Interests of the Holy See, in the Difference between the Pontif and the Republick of Venice, Suppressed his Predecesfors Bull. He imposed filence on the Dominicans and Jesuits. Few, except these two Orders, had engaged publickly in this first Dispute. The Universities of Diway and Louvain declared too against the Jesuits; and their Doctrine of Grace was condemned there. After this the Book of Fansenius, Bishop of Ipres, caused a long and famons Contest in the Faculty of Paris, and all the Gallican Church.

At the same time that Paul V. endeavoured to stifle in his Church the Disputes concerning Grace and Predestination, the Protestants of Holland were divided on the fame Queftions. Luther, and the first Reformers had at first embraced the Hypothesis of St. Austin, either because they were prepoffessed, or because it seemed most proper, to combat the Dogms of the Roman Church, and settle those of the However Luther him-Reformation. felf, or at least his first Disciples, soon faw the Inconveniences and ill Consequences of the Augustinian System: That of the Greek

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Greek Fathers appeared both more Ancient and Reasonable. Melanthon took to this: and his moderate Sentiments prevailed with those of the Ausburgh Confession, Calvin, Zanchy, Beza, and the greatest number of the Reformed, adhered ftrongly to the Opinions of St. Austin. Some strain'd them higher, and used harder Expressions. The rigid Thomists did the same in the Roman Church. Towards the beginning of this Age divers of the Reformed Divines opened their Eyes after the Example of the Lutherans. Upon examining the Scripture more attentively, the Sense of St. Chrysoftom and the ancient Greeks, appeared preferrable to that of the Bishop of Hippo, who did not certainly very well understand the Old or New Testament.

As the Books of Erasmus, MelanEthon The Rife of and Bullinger, were much efteemed in Arianism in Holland, where these Works had much conduced to give a Relish to the Reformation, so the most knowing of the Magistrates and Laiety were inclined to the mild and moderate Sentiments of these Divines on Predestination and Grace, rather than the rigid Hypothesis of the first Reformers. They thought at least they were very tolerable. and compatible with the Reformation which that Province had embraced. But the greatest part of the Ministers on the Grotius Acontrary, who had only studied Religion, polog. corum in the Books of Calvin and Beza, stifly qui Hollan-dize præfuemaintained the Opinions of their Mafters. runt.

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This occasioned a great difference in Reli-This occasioned a great difference in Religion between the Churchmen and the Magistrates. The one and the other formed a different Idea of what they call'd the Resident Idea of Idea that by aiming in their Formularies of Faith and Catechisms to compile a compleat and regular Body of Divinity, they inserted their own Speculations as certain and essential Truths. The Magistrates and wise Laity of Holland urged, that the Reformation being only a purer Worship and more free from vain Superstitions that the Church of Rome, with a greater Latitude of Opinions in things not plainly revealed in the Holy Writings, it could not be said the Reformation should be said the be said the Reformation stood on what some Persons thought the most crabbed and difficult Questions of School Divinity.

The Ministers, always warm for their Opinions and Prejudiced, often cried, the Magistrates wanted Zeal for the true Doctrine: And these in their turn complained 1 that the other were stubborn and inflexible and would force all the World to be of their Mind. When the Churchmen, fir'd with Zeal, brought befor the Magistrates of the Hypothesis of Calthose who opposed the Hypothesis of Cal-

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diagrace, as Men who subverted the Foundations of the Reformation, the more wise and discerning asked these new Inquible fitors, if it were impossible to be a true Reformed Christian without embracing the Opinions of St. Austin and his Disciples. From the first Reformation in Holland, the contrary Sentiments had always prevailed in the City of Tergow. The States of Holland too had not solemnly approved the Consession of Faith received in the Belgick of Churches. Is not this a Proof, that those wise Magistrates thought there were Articles put in this Formulary, which were not absolutely necessary, which ought to be expressed in a more soft manner, and less offensive to those of a different Persuasion from the first Reformers? This appears very probable, since we read in History, that i-win and Beza, about Predestination and 1611. ry probable, fince we read in History, that the States of Holland, in other respects very averse to the Convocation of a General Synod of the Seven United Provinces, consented in the Year 1597, to the holding such an Assembly, where the Consession of the Faith should be exactly revised and amended in a Spirit of Charity and Peace.

For my own part, when I consider the

For my own part, when I consider the Disputes which have caused such a faral Division in Holland, I am in pain to comprehend how Men of Sense can be persuaded that the Opinions of St. Austin concerning Predestination and Grace, are established to a Reformation of Christianity.

How

How many Holy Men were there in the Times of the greatest Purity of the Church of Rome, whose Thoughts were differen from the Fathers? Cannot we renound the monftrous and ridiculous Dogm Transubstantiation, the Religious Wo thip of Saints and Images, the Fable Purgatory, Indulgences, the false Traditions of the Church of Rome, the Traditions ranny of the Pope, without believing absolute Predestination, and irresistible Grace ? Did all those honest Men who convinced of the Absurdity and Falsity the Things which I mentioned, embrace the Reformation, think of the Hypothel of the Bishop of Hippo? Were they anni ous to know if it were true or falle These abstract and difficult Questions on ly employed some Doctors, who were pro jecting to make a compleat System of Di vinity: Among these who took this pain there were some who preferred the mode rate Sense of the ancient Greek Fathen Calvin himself was not perswaded, that his Thoughts of Grace and Predestination were effential to Religion. He took the pains to translate the Common Places of Melanathon into French; whose Thought of these Matters were quite different from his own. In his Preface, he gives all ima ginable Praises to Melanction. Could hei Conscience have done this, if he had been perswaded the Opinions of his Author un dermined the Foundations of the Refor mation? Able Divines of the Reformed Churches

the Churches have publickly maintained, that he Opinons of Universal Grace, of the ower of resisting its Operation, and public onditional Predestination, are of the number of those Articles which every one may elieve, without renouncing the Principles in Several learned Hollanders had highly essended this Doctrine before Arminius and preach'd it at Amsterdam; and taught

ad preach'd it at Amsterdam; and taught at Leyden, before Gomar rose up against im. These Books are still extant. It is ue, certain warm Ministers made a stir blast those Works, and ruin their Auors. But the States of Holland always op'd this impetuous Zeal. The Professors id an entire Liberty to teach according to e Sense of Melanthon. And when Arinius was called into that University, one were ignorant of his Opinions: He ad preach'd it at Amsterdam; and taught one were ignorant of his Opinions: He and declared them in the Church of the erdam; which estimony of them. Gomar himself, and vers more of the same Mind with him, atring into a Conference with Arminius, ade no Scruple to say, their Differences of the same Mind with him, and the same Mind with him and the same man with the same wit on. It is true, Gomar did not long live a good Understanding with Arminius his we Collegue; either because his Reputation gave him Umbrage, or the Enemies Arminius kindled his Choler by some ofinuation, and then he vigorously oppode a Man whom he look'd on as Orthoon. It is true, Gomar did not long live

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The two Professors had soon their Dis ciples and Party. The Division was for great in the University of Leyden, the the Affair was brought before the Synod held at Rotterdam. Gomar's Party was the strongest there. The Assembly or dered, that all the Pastors should subscribe the Confession of Faith and the Catechism Arminius and his Party refused to ober There are some things to be amended in both of them, faid they : They ought to be confi dered in a National Synod. We hope to fa one meet in a little time. The manner i which Questions should be treated and de termined in this Synod, caused new Diff. culties. One fide required certain Condition ons; others rejected all. In the meantime the ordinary Synods press'd Arminius -and hi Party, to declare publickly what Except ons they had against the Confession of Faith, and the Catechism, in order to have the Matter duly determined. Armi nius, perswaded his greatest Enemie would be Judges in fuch an Affembly declined the Jurisdiction of a Synod a much as possibly he could. Utenbog ard, a Mi nister of great Reputation in the Hague, hi Friend, and of the same Opinion with him felf, did him confiderable Service, with fe veral of the chief Persons of the Govern ment. Never didSynod in its first Steps, and perhaps thro' the whole Course of it more follow the Council of Trent, than the Synor of Dort; except that there were more able Divines at Dort than at Trent. This not

for in any manner furprizing, almost all Councils are alike. The same Interests

to in any manner surprizing, almost all councils are alike. The same Interests give occasion to them, and the same Passions reign in them.

Arminius presented a Petition to the States of Holland and Westfriezland. In this he desires, that the Council of the Province might take Cognizance of his Affair. His Adversaries on the contrary asserted, that is Dispute, which was purely Theological, bught to be decided in an Assembly of Churchmen. Arminius carried it. Goman and he were heard by the Magistrates. These, Gentlemen made their Report to the States, That the Contest of the two Parties was only about certain subtil Meaphysical Questions concerning Grace and Predestination; and that both Parties would do better to leave their Disputes and Animosity, and support themselves mutually with Charity. Gomar was not of this Mind. How! The Dispute is of the present of the Signal of the Symd of with the Sentiments of Arminius. If the port. pear before the Supreme Tribunal of God the Syned of with the Sentiments of Arminius. If the with the Sentiments of Arminius. If the States do not find a speedy Remedy to the Evil which so pernicious a Doctrine is like to make, we shall soon see Altar against Altar, Town against Town, Province against Province: All will be in Disorder and Confusion. The States of Holland and Westfriezland, always composed of wise and discerning Men, are not so easily carried away with the Passions of Divines. To give their hot heads times to cool, they deferred as long as they

they could the holding of the ordinary Synod. And when they were obliged to permit it to meet, they ordered no one should speak there of the Controversies between the Arminians and the Gomarists.

In the mean time Arminius and his Party found themselves always prest by their warm zealous Enemies to communicate to the other Ministers their Remarks on the Confession of Faith and Catechism. The threatned to proceed against them by war of Church-Censure, if they persisted in refuse. The States of Holland, who de fired to stifle this Difference if possible faw well, that if Arminius published hi Reasons, this would only serve to make the Dispute hotter. The Gomaria would have refuted them; the Armi nians would have replied; the Synod would have Matter to make their Deter minations on. For this Reason, the State ordered wisely the Arminian Minister fould fend to them their Remarks Writing, and sealed, to be kept till the first extraordinary Synod should meet i examin the Conrroversie. All this did no content the Gomarists : Nothing would ferve but he must explain himself. An now he desires again to be heard in Meeting of the States of Holland; being perswaded these Gentlemen would have more Equity and Moderation than prejudiced and passionate Ministers. Goma

and he appeared. Arminius delivered his Thoughts on the Principal Articles of Religion, and particularly on Predeffination, Grace, the Liberty of Man's Will, the certainty of Salvation, and the Perseverance of the Regenerate. He did not forget at the same time, to shew his Adversaries Sentiments were repugnant to the Juflice and Goodness of God That his System deprives Man of that Liberry which God has given him; that it conduces to throw Sinners into Despair, to harden 'em in Impenitence, to extinguish the Love and Ardour of Prayer in Believers, and makes the Preaching of the Gospel, and the Remonstrances of their Pastors useless in a Word that it Subverts all Morality and Religion. Arminius faid nothing new in all this. Several Persons and Learned Men in Gaul, made the same Objections against the New Doctrine which S. Aufin introduced in the West.

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Gomar spoke next. Convinced that the solid Proofs of Arminius, ought to make a great Impression in the Minds of the States; he thought to elude the Force of them by Reproaches, which signified nothing at bottom. Is it not a deplorable Thing, said he, that a Professor of our University should inspire into his Disciples, the Opinions of the Jesuits, and weaken the Proofs which our first Reformers brought, to ruin the Reformation by strengthning the Arguments of the Papists against us. These

Declamations are only proper to move an ignorant Populace: Can the Jesuits speak no Truth? Calvin, Beza, and the reft. are they Infallible ? Has the Reformation no folid Foundations, but the Speculative Ouestions of Grace and Predestination? The States did not give any great Attention to Gomar's Discourse. His Party perfuaded they should have more Advantage in an Assembly of Ministers, persisted to demand, that this Dispute should be decided in a Synod. But the States had just reason to fear the Issue. The Experience of feveral Ages teaches us, that Councils rather increase, than end Divisions.

The way of Conference appeared less dangerous to the States. The two Professors of Leyden, had order to come to the Hague. This happened in 1610. Arminius took four Ministers with him, and Gomar as many. There in Presence of the States of Holland, Arminius began to reduce the Controversie to five Principal Points, which were after the five Famous Articles of the Arminians, concerning Predestination, the Death of Fesus Christ for all Men, the necessity of Grace, its Operation on us, and Perseverance. It was not Surprizing at the end of this Confezence, to fee what ever happens on the like occasions. The Heat was greater than before. Arminim fell ill, and died in a few days after. His Friends and Disciples maintained what he had advanced.

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They boldly preached their Thoughts, and refuted the Gomarists with great Vigour and Courage. Afterwards they United themselves more firstly, and then they concerted a Remonstrance, to present in a Body to the States of Holland; they laid down their Sentiments, and the Gomarists on the five Articles. After this, they most Humbly begg'd the Protection of the States, against all Sentences with which the Synods would blaft the Persons and Doctrines of the Arminians. Since this Remonstrance, they had the Name of Remonstrants given them.

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In the mean time it was necessary to Vorstius is Elect a Successor to Arminius, in the Di- thefen to fucvinity Chair at Leyden. Vorftim Profes- 12. for and Minister at Steinfurt, was chofen by the Interest of the Remonstrants. This did them a great deal of Mischief. Vorstim was suspected of Socinianism. and not without some Ground. He had published a Book, in which he speaks of the Divine Nature in a very Ablurd and Gross manner. From that time the Gomarifts charged their Adversaries with secretly favouring the Impious Doctrines of Socinus. Their Complaints did not appear ill grounded to a great many Persons. They procured fuch Disadvantagious Accounts of Vorstius, that he was not permitted to enter upon the Functions of his Employment, though he was called to it in a Legal manner, and brought good

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Certificates with him. In the year 1611. there was a more famous Conference at the Hague than before, in the Presence of the States of Holland. These Gentlemen had a mind to pacifie the Troubles, withour lying under a necessity of calling an Extraordinary Synod. But Divines are not To eafily ftopt, when their Heads are once hot. There were fix Gomarist Ministers on one fide, and fix Remonstrants on the The Learned Episcopius was one of these. He has wondrously well defended the Cause of his Party, but has done it a great Injury too. Though he do's not think as Socinus do's of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Nature and Operations of God; yet he maintains that the Socinian Doctrine is tolerable, and not contrary to the Fundamental Articles of Christianity. The Arminians of Holland embraced the same Sentiment, which makes it to be believed, that Arminianism and Socinianism are near a kin. Yet these two things are very different. It is common in the Church of England, to find Learned Divines who think in the fame manner as Arminius did on the five Articles. and yet vigorously Defend the Decisions of the four first General Councils.

James King of England, opposes the Election of Vorstius.

I will not speak of this Conference at the Hague. This was as Fruitless as the preceding ones. Vorstius appeared here. He made a Harangue to the States, to justifie himself, against the Errors imputed

ted to him. These Gentlemen were well fatisfied. They demanded next of the Ministers of both Parties, if they had any thing to say against Vorstius. The Remonstrants declared, they thought him Orthodox. But the others alledg'd fo much against him, and intervened with so great Opposition, that he continued still without doing any thing, tho' the States were well affected to him. The Opposi- Mercure tion of James I. King of Great Britain, Francois made the greatest Noise in Europe. Vorstius's Books were brought to the King, when he was taking the Diversion of Hunting in the Country. King James run over these in less than an Hours time. He faw fuch Shoals of Herefies with one cast of his Eye, he immediately sent an Extract to his Ambassador to the States-General, with an express Order to declare to them from him, that if they fuffered such a dangerous Man at Leyden. his Majesty would publish a Manifesto to shew the World his Aversion against the Authors of these Herefies, and those who allow them to be taught in their Universities.

The Ambaffador punctually executed his Master's Orders. The States-General were a little surprized, to see the King concern himself in an Affair that was purely Domestick. The Zeal which a King shews for the preserving the Purity of the Faith, is not to be blamed. He L 3 * do's

do's well to extend it beyond his Kingdom. But however there are Meafures to be kept towards his Allies and Neighbours. His Britannick Majesty's Threat was very high and brisk. The States-General gave their Answer some days after to the Ambassador. If Vorstius, said they, with great Discretion and Respect, be guilty of the Errors he is accused of, we will not suffer him to teach in Holland. The High Esteem we have of the King of Great Britain's Goodness and Wisdom, gives us grounds to hope, that his Mijesty will be Tatisfied with our Conduct, when he shall be better informed of this Matter, and the Uprightness of our Intentions. In the mean time, James burnt the Books of Vorstius at London, Oxford and Cambridge. The Reply of the States-General, did not fatisfie him. He wrote a long Letter, exhorting them to Banish Vorstim out of their Provinces. Arminius was treated in this. as an Enemy of God; and for Vorftius, his Majefty looked upon him as a downright Atheist. He concluded his Letter with threatning the States, to separate from the Communion of their Churches, if they suffered so abominable a Man as Vorflius amongst them.

He was at Leyden before this Letter of King James came. The English Ambasfador made a long Remonstrance, when he delivered it to the States-General. He gave them the Propositions which his Majesty jefty had extracted out of Vorftins's Books, and exhorted them to flew no lefs Zeal and Courage, to preserve the Purity of the Faith against so pernicious an Heretick. than they had done in the Defence of their Liberty against the Spaniards. The States-General did not know what to think of the Letter, nor the Harangue. They answered the Ambaffador, that the Matter in Question only regarded the particular States of Holland, who were Sovereigns in their own Province. That Vorftim was only at Leyden as a fimple Inhabitant in the Town, and waited till he should justifie himself in the next Meeting of the States of Holland, For the reft, faid they, we humbly thank bis Majesty for his Concern for the good of these Provinces, and the preferving the Purity of the Gospel in our Churches.

The States of Holland were not to meet till three or four Months after. This made the English Embassador look upon this Delay as a Civil Denial. And now there was a New Remonstrance from the King his Master to the States-General. This had a Text after the manner of Sermons. The Ambassador began with that place of the Gospel, which orders Brutherly Correction, and will have those brought before the Church, who will not hearken to it. He complained of their want of Respect to the King, in receiving Vorsian not only in their Country,

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but in a Famous University. The States-General were threatned a second time with a Manisesto from his Britannick Majesty. These Gentlemen kept their Flegm: They answered, the King should have Satisfaction in the next Meeting of the States of Holland. This was to be in the Month of February, the following year.

The King of England's!
Apology for his Conduct in the Business of Vorstiue,

In the mean time the King of England faw his Zeal against Vorstius was not so favourably Interpreted, as he hoped for. Ill-natured Wits Cenfured him for making Oftentation of his Learning and Divinity. Others imputed this to his Ambition, and thought it an Usurpation on the Liberty of the Provinces for him to concern himself in Matters which Sovereigns are not obliged to give their Neighbours an Account of. The King of Sweden this year, fent a Challenge to the King of Denmark, to fight a Duel with him. thing not feen fince Francis the I, and Charles V. James I. liked another fort of Fighting better. To justifie himself from the Sinister Interpretations, put on his Conduct, he took his Pen in Hand, and printed his Apology. In this the King gave an account to the Publick, of what had passed between the States-General and him. His Majesty farther protested, he had no other defign than to oppose the Rife of a Herefie, to give the States-General a new Mark of his Kindness, and to hinder

hinder the young Hollanders and the English themselves, who should go to Study at Leyden, from being infected with the Pernicious Opinions, Vorstius should spread there. The King's Apology had the same Fate with all Personal Quarrels. Every

one believed as he pleased.

of Charles the IX. King of Sweden, and on in Sweden speak something of his Elevation to the of Gustavus Throne. He was the youngest Son of Ericson. Gustavus Ericson, so Famous in History, for having delivered his Country from the Oppression of the Danes, for having by his Great Services, Merited the Crown to be Entailed on his Heirs Male; in short, for setling Luther's Reformation in his Country, and Abridging the too great Power of the Clergy. Eric the Eldeft Son of Gustavus, Succeeded him, but wanted the Virtues of his Father. He introduced into Sweden the Dignities of Count and Baron, which before were unknown there. It was thought this was done to divide the Nobility among themselves. The too great Union of this Powerful Body, was able to create Trouble to a Family newly raised to the Throne. The Dignities bestowed on some, gave a Jealousie to the reft. Those who had most Ambition, made their Court to the King, to obtain the same Distinction. And the New Nobility were obliged to support the Authority of the King, and ac-

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Let us conclude this year with the Death The Revolution

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here to his Family to preserve their Privileges. Eric made himself Odious by his Cruelties, and Despicable by his Debauches and Extravagancies. His ill Treatment of John Duke of Finland, and Charles Duke of Sudermannia, obliged them to rise and put themselves at the Head of the Malecontents. These two Princes Attacked Eric in Stockholm it self. He first delivered up his Favourite, whom all the Kingdom Exclaimed against. They inslicted an Insamous punishment on him.

John and Charles would have fomething more than all this. They agreed to take the Sovereign Power from Eric, who abused it unjustly, and that the Duke of Finland should be declared King, and the Duke of Sudermannia should share with him in the Government, without having any outward Marks of Royalty. Folm thought himself now discharged from the Oath he had taken, when Eric delivered him out of a close Prison, where he had kept him three or four years. The Duke had given Affurance by a Writing under his Hand, that he would continue faithful to the King, and not aspire to the Crown, neither before nor after the Death of the King his Elder Brother, and that he would acknowledge those Children for lawful Heirs of the Kingdom, which Eric had by a Mistress of Mean Birth, whom he afterwards Marryed Solemply. But

But John was not very anxious about the 1611: Religious observing his Promises. When he was Mafter of his Eldeft Brother, not contented with flutting him up in a Cafile, he foon poisoned him. John and Charles continued to attack Stockholm. The Senate of the City delivered it up to them, and poor Brie reduced to Extremity, was left to the Difererion of his two Brothers. The States of Sweden declared him fallen from the Crown, and John Duke of Finland was fet up in his

place.

The New King of Sweden was not John King of truer to the Duke of Sudermannia, than Sweden enhe had been to his Predeceffor. Charles descours to had no share in the Administration of the alter the Ralis Kingdom. Men promife any thing when blifbed by his . they are to ascend a Throne; but when Father. they are once Established in it, they find other Principles of Religion and Honour. John had Martied Catherine Jagellon Daughter to the King of Poland. Whether the Prince is had inspired her Husband with an Aversion to the Protestant Religion, or the Reading the Books and Conversation of able Men of the Papal Comntution, had raifed doubts in him, or he hoped. so be King of Poland, after the Death of Sigifmund Augustus, his Brother-in-Law, who had no Children; as foon as John had made a Peace with Denmark by the Treaty of Sterin in Pomerania, he applied himself feriously to change the Religion which :

which his Father had fetled in Sweden. It is not a place here to relate all the Artifices he made use of, to prepare the Minds of his People for the Alterations he defigned. I shall only observe, that the King who wanted not Wit or Judgment, was convinced there were a great many things to be altered in the Worship and Doctrine of the Church of Rome. He can neither be reckoned among the good Catholicks, nor the true Protestants. Ever uncertain and wavering, sometimes he relished the Project of Accommodation, which Caffander had given to the Emperor Maximilian II. at other times he was inclined to the Greek Church. Answers of Feremiah Patriarch of Constantinople to the Divines of Wirtembergh, pleased him so much, that he once thought to unite with that Communion.

Possevin a Learned Jesuit, whom Pope Gregory the XIII had sent into Sweden, thought he had persuaded King John to Reunite himself in earnest to the Church of Rome. He confessed himself to that Jesuit, the Popes private Nuncio; he received the Communion in the Form used in that Church. Possevin imposed as a Pennance on him for the Murther of his Brother Eric, whom he had poysoned, to fast every Wednesday throughout the year. It is said, John observed this Practice regularly all the rest of his Life. Nevertheless he frequented the publick

Service of the Church of Sweden. There was a New Liturgy used which himself had introduced, and the Pope refused to approve of. The Mixture of these two Religions, was one of the ways by which this Prince pretended insensibly to bring the People to forsake the Worship and Belief of the Protestants of the Ausburgh Confession.

Several Romish Churchmen came into Sweden. The Irrefolution of King John and his Indulgence drew them thither. Several of his own Subjects too favour'd his diffembled Defigns. By their manner of Discourse, the more unthinking People took these Preachers for free Protestants. But others observed, in spight of their Disguises, all they spoke tended to infinuate into the Minds of the People the Do-Ctrines of Popery. The Archbishop of Upfal fuffered himself to be won by them. Some Prelates, and divers ignorant or ambitious Churchmen follow'd his Example. There were some Bishops ordained according to the Roman Pontifical. The Bishop of Linkoping, several of his Brethren, and a great number of Churchmen, couragioully defended the Reformation fetled by Gustavus Ericson. The Clergy of the Dutchy of Sudermannia shewed a firmness of Mind, which much confounded King Charles, his Brother, declared highly for the Amburgh Confession. He opposed this Alteration with all his Might.

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Neither the King nor I can make any Imporation in the Religion established by Law; he replied to those sent to dispose him to comply. All things are well regulated by the last Will and Testament of the late King our Father. We must fix there. For my part I am resolved never to depart from it.

The States of Sweden shew'd great Vigour on feveral Occasions. They reprefented to the King, that mighty Jealou-fies were rifen in Sweden and Foreign Countries: that his Majesty would overthrow that Constitution which his Father had wifely established; and that to but an end to all those Rumours, it concerned him to declare publickly, that the Reformation received in that Kingdom. was conformable to the Sense of the Primitive Church. Farther, the States commanded feveral Popish Books brought into that Country, to be suppress'd; they press'd the King to place able Men of unblemin'd Reputation in the Publick Schools so instruct the Youth. In the last place they defired, that Sigifmund, the King's eldest Son should be bred in the Protestant Religion, because that young Prince began to give fome Umbrage. Queen Cacherine Jagellen, his Mother, had so Brongly sinctured him with the Principles of the Church of Rome, that the Senators, of the Kingdom having one day threatned him that he should lose the Right of Suc-

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Succession to the Crown if he did not soon renounce the Religion he had imbibed, and embrace the Ausburgh Confession. I prefer, replied he boldly, the Kingdom of Heaven to all the Crowns in the World. No other Answer could be got from him.

On some Occasions the States of Sweden had more Complaifance for the King. All feem'd dispos'd to receive the new Liturgy, and the Accommodations he had invented. Charles of Sudermannia; the Clergy of his Provinces, and some great Lords, were the only People who defended the Reformation; but the Interest of the Duke, and the effectual Remonstrances of the reft, brought back several, whose Hopes and Fears had abated their Warmth and Zeal. The King himself had loft much of that Ardor the Jefuit Poffevin had inspired into him. Whether he could not accommodate himself to the haughty Humour of Sixtus V. Successor to Gregory XIII. or his Doubts were not fufficiently cleared, or the great Power of his Brother kept him in awe ; John humbled the Catholicks, who thought themselves now Masters of all things. He drove out the Jesuits, and demolished their College. Gennila Bielke, whom the King married after the Death of Catherine Jagellon, cooled the Fervour her Husband had before shewed for the Roman Religion. Kings often think they do that of their own Heads, which a dextrous and infinuating Wo-

Woman inspires into them. John King of Sweden, thought he had solid Reasons to doubt of the Truth of the Protestant Religion. But his principal Motive, though he scarce knew it himself, was, his great Complaisance for Catherine Jagellon. The Queen Gennila might have brought him back to his first Religion, in the same manner as the other had seduced him from it.

Sigismond Prince of Sweden is chosen King of Poland.

After the Death of Stephen Battori King of Poland, Ann Jagellon his Widow, and Aunt of Sigismond Prince of Sweden managed the Polish Nobility so well, that the greatest part declared for him. The contrary Faction chose the Arch-Duke Maximilian, Brother to the Emperor Rodolphus. But Sigismond's Friends carried it. ceived in Poland, beat the Arch-Duke; and Maximilian being taken Prisoner, redeemed his Liberty, by renouncing all his Pretentions to the Crown of Poland. Swedes made their Conditions before the Prince left that Kingdom; as the Poles made theirs before they received him. The Principal thing which the Senate of Sweden stipulated with Sigismond was, the preserving the Priviledges and Religion of their Country. They added this Clause in the Treaty, that if the King of Poland, becoming King of Sweden after the Death of his Father, should contravene any of the Articles agreed on, that then the Swedes should be discharged from the Oath of Allegiance they had taken.

It is very probable that Sigismond before his departure from Sweden, urged the King his Father to purfue his Defign of caufing his new Liturgy to be received, together with the ancient Ceremonies which he had establish'd a little after his coming to the When Princes have begun a Crown. Work that makes a great Figure, they are loth to quit it, and foon refume it, when they see the least Prospect of Success. Sigismond hoped his late Advancement would make it easie for him to accomplish the Work which his Father had drawn a rough Draught of : And the King of Sweden, strengthned by the new Alliance of Poland, flatter'd himself, that Charles of Sudermannia would not dare to oppose him. He was deceived in his Conjectures. The Churchmen of the Dutchy agreeing perfectly well with the Prince, refused to receive his Liturgy. This disturbed the King so much, who was now at greater variance with his Brother than ever, that he thought of recalling Sigifmond in earnest. The new King himself was tempted to return into his Country. He would willingly have done it, if the Poles had not briskly opposed it. A Foreign Prince is eafily dazled with the glittering Title of King of Poland: But he foon takes distaste at the false Lustre of a Crown which only appears fair at a distance. Those who have left their Hereditary Countries to go into Poland, have repented.

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ed. This is the way to hazard the loss of an Effective Sovereignty for a Title which has more Pomp than Reality. Sigifmond knew by Experience the Truth of this Maxim.

The King, his Father, finding fo great opposition from the Swedes, who were more upon their Guard fince the Election of Sigifmond, had nothing else to have Recourfe to, but to reconcile himfelf speedily to the Duke of Sudermannia, and admit him to a Share in the Administration of The Apprehensions of John were fomething leffened by Charles's lofing his Wife. She left no Issue behind her; and 30hn pretended his Brother promised him never to think of a second Marriage. If it were fo, the Duke in his turn broke his Word. He soon after married Christina, Daughter of Adolphin, Duke of Holftein It is reported, Sigifmond courted this Lady before he went into Poland. But a Sifter of King John diverted the Prince her Nephew from the Match. He after married Constance of Austria, Daughter of Charles, and Sifter of Ferdinand Arch-Duke of Gratz in Stiria. Christina, enraged at this Contempt, conceived fo great a Hatred against Sigismond, that after she was married to Charles of Sudermmannia, the incessantly urged him to force the Crown of Sweden from Sigismond. King John was not well fatisfied with this fecond Marriage of Charles. But his ill Humour did

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not last long. He died foon after at Srockholm.

The Duke of Sudermannia was active as foon as he heard this News. He fet at liber- Sigifmond ty the Senators and Clergymen, whom king of Pothe late King had confined for oppoling his land fucceds Defigns. Sigismond very much diffrusted in the King-To prevent his enterprizing denhis Uncle. any thing to his Prejudice, the new King writes, that he was making all Preparations to come speedily into his Hereditary Countries. In the mean time the Duke of Sudermannia takes the Admi-Puffendorf. niftration as next of Kin to the King. Introduction John left another Son by his second Wife; à Histoire, but he was yet a Minor. The Senators, Tom. IV. p. without prejudice to their Oath taken to 11. Rhap. Sigifmond, promised to obey Charles in every thing he should order, with their Consent, for the Glory of God, the Prefervation of the Protestant Religion, and the maintaining the just Rights and Priviledges of the Nation. The Duke promiled of his Part, not to transact any thing of weight without the Advice and Confent of the Senate. A Council is thereupon affembled at Upfal, to regulate Matters of Religion. They abolished the Liturgy and Ceremonies, introduced by the

late King, and reaffumed those of the Protestants of the Amburgh Confession: They elected an Archbishop, who was well affected, and deprived those of the Clergy who had devoted themselves to ferve the late King in his Innovations.

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1611.

The Swedes and the Goths only affifted this Affembly: The other Provinces were afraid of displeasing King Sigismond, in they engaged without his Consent. The Decrees of the Council were confirme is by the Duke of Sudermannia, by the Se nate, the Clergy, the Nobility, the Missi nifters of State, and the Burgo-Master na who were present. Those who were no

there subscribed after.

Sigismond, and his Uncle Charles, ob ferved each other. The Nephew's Di frust was encrealed by Charles and manding, that before he left Sweden, his in Majesty would give him a Promise under this Hand, that he would confirm the Lie is the States of the stat strust was encreased by Charles his deberties and Priviledges of the States of the Kingdom, and fuffer them to enjoy the same Freedom of Religion they had done under the Reign of Gustavus Ericson, and in the beginning of the late King's. The Duke of Sudermannia farther represented to the King, that the ill Condition of his Country would not admit him to carry much People away with him. These Instructions and Demands increased sigifmond's Jealousie. He thought his Uncle plainly discovered he had vast Designs. Sigismond was resolved not to heed the Duke's Remonstrances. And now Charles had greater Hopes than ever to embarals the new King, when he faw the Poles gave Sigismond leave to go into his Hereditary Country, under Condition to keep his ancient

d a ent Oath, not to abandon Poland, as ver lenry III. King of France, had done; ind that his Majesty should return when he ad setled his Affairs in Sweden, and have no is usual Residence amongst them.

The Swedes were disatisfied the new king had plainly declared the Decrees and at Upsal in his Absence, and without is Consent, to be null. However they received him with great Marks of Joy and Affection. Duke Charles withdrew. eived him with great Marks of Joy and Affection. Duke Charles withdrew, fter he had made his Compliments to his Majesty. He thought it proper to leave im alone with the Council of his Kingtom. The Pope's Nuncio, who was with ligisimond, much disquieted the Swedes. It was visible the new King hearkened to he Councils of the Court of Rome. He broke the Regulations made at Upsal, and tommanded another Archbishop to be thosen. He who was raised to that Dignity, was in his Opinion, an Enemy to the late King. Afterwards he demanded he late King. Afterwards he demanded Church in every great Town, for the Roman Catholicks. The States of the Kingdom and the Clergy, vigorously opposed his Enterprize, being affured of the Protection of the Duke of Sudermannia. The time of the Coronation approaching, the Senators demanded in the Name of the States of Sweden, that the King should first promise under his Hand-writing, not to hinder the Exercise of the Protestant Religion. Sigismend replied only in gejects fatisfaction after his Coronation. All these Difficulties retarded the Ceremo-

ny.

The Quarrel between King Sigismond and Charles Duke of Sudermannia.

Men cover Liberty and Independence. only for themselves. Very far from proways possible, to enslave the rest of the World. The Polish Nobility so Jealous of their Privileges and Liberry, but accustomed to keep other People in Slave ry, incessantly cried to their King Sigif mond, that an Hereditary State is Governed otherwise than an Elective Kingdom. That in Poland he was subject to the Laws, bur in Sweden he was above These Maxims easily infinuate themselves into the Mind of a Prince. Sigismond displeased to see himself dependant on the Senat of Poland, was better fatisfied with being Absolute in Sweden. He Rejected the Petitions presented to The Duke of Sudermannia frood Neuter in the beginning of the Dispute. He advised the King to have regard to the just Requests of his Subjects, but he was not very uneafie to find a Difference arise between them by his Denials and Delays. The States secure of Charles Affiftance, abated nothing of their Preten-The stubbornness of the King ftrangely incenfed them, and the Sermons of some zealous Preachers of the Protestant Religion, warmed the most cold and

nd indifferent. They talked of offering he Crown to the Duke, and giving it to Prince John, in case he would not accept to Being persuaded it was not yet time to hear a Proposition of this kind, he concented himself with going to wait upon the King at Upsal, and strongly backing he Pretensions of the States: The Neshew and the Uncle so heared each other; hey were upon the point of Fighting. They were parted, and as soon reconcil'd, to prevent any Confusion and Disorder in the Kingdom. These Accidents concirm'd the States the more in the Resoution they took, to make the King Explain himself, before they would proceed to his Coronation.

The Popes Nuncio, and such of the Poish Nation as then attended at Sigismond's.
Court, now perceived clearly that in Prulence he ought not to stand it out any
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lence of Affairs: They told him withal,
that he was not bound to keep a Promise exlenced from him by Violence. Now Sigismond promises'em any thing they'd have.
He reserved only, that he might have the
live Exercise of the Popish Religion for
himself within the private Walls of the
Castle, where he should make his Residence. But he from that very time, took
a Resolution of destroying his Uncle. The
Plot of Murdering him at a Play, having
miscarried, they undertook to drive at

him.

him with all the Vigour and open Violence that was possible. Immediate Or ders were given to the Polish Army to march toward Stockholm. This made the States of that Kingdom begin to think of their own Security. They Summoned the Inhabitants of the Highlands to come down to their Affistance. In the mean time during all this buftle, the King took no care of the Government, nor of fecuring the quiet of the Kingdom. any Proposal was made to him by the States, he likewise would make a demand of some other thing at their Hands. The Polanders were still at him to return home, and to come to no Conclusion with the Swedes. They flattered themselves, that the wider the Breaches and Divisions grew in Swedeland, the easier it would be to reduce it. So that Sigismond, in fine following their Advice, took thipping for Dantzick. He left Orders how he would have the Kingdom Governed in his Absence; but neither the Duke of Sudermannia, nor the States, would submit to any of them; as judging the Persons imploy'd therein, to be averle to the Treaty concluded at Upfal before the King's Coronation.

The States of Swedeland commits the Government of the Kingdom during theKing's Ab-Sence, to the Duke of Sudermannia.

Soon after his Departure, the States of Swedeland pray'd Charles of Sudermannia, to take upon him the Government. The Duke desired to be excused; yet declared at the same time, that neither his

Consci-

Conscience, nor the Love he bore his Country, could ever permit him to comply with the Orders left by his Nephew: yet notwithstanding his seeming Modesty. the Duke wanted only to be further courted in the Matter. The Senate was to have almost an equal share with him in the Government, and Governors of Towns did exercise a sort of Sovereignty in their Jurisdictions. The King had contrived it should be so, as a necessary precaution to ballance his Uncle's Authority, and to leffen his Power. Such a Scheme of Government was not for the Duke's turn. He expected that the Senators would abate somewhat of their Rights and Privileges, and that more Authority would be allowed him over the Governors of each City. Matters were accordingly brought to that pass, as he would have it. The Duke then, as if he had only yielded to the repeated Address of the Senate, flides into the Saddle of State, and marches to Stokholm: Then, he was wont to say, That the best way of Goernment at that juncture, was to put into xecution what the King was indespensably ound to perform himself. And are we ound, faid he, to obey fuch Orders of his, hat are found to be contrary to his Coronaion Oath? As foon as the Duke enter'd tokholm, he Cashier'd the Governour of he Castle for being a Roman Catholick; he lo forbid the Exercise of that Religion M within

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within that City, he made great Presents' to the Senators, he granted Penfions to the Bishops, and to the Professors of Colleges, and won his Clergy's and Citizens Love by his Affable and Courteous ways: His Wife Christina was brought to bed at that time, and the Child was Christn'd by the Name of Gustavus Adolphus. Ceremony was concluded with a splendid Entertainment, which he gave to the Senators, and to the chief of the Nobility. The Famous Astronomer Ticho Bradbe who then Calculated this young Prince Nativity, pronounced, that he should on day wear a Crown. This was fufficient to raise his Parents hopes to a high pitch It is usual for Persons that are enter'd up on Difficult and Glorious Defigns, to en tertain such uncertain Prognostications, undoubted Oracles. The Duke of Sp dermania thought that the calling together of the States, would be a means to Esta blish his Authority. The Confusion which the King left Matters in Swedelan at his going away, was a Specious pre tence enough for this Convocation. Charle together with the Senate, writ to the Kin about it. But he made them no Answer This Silence of his, was by fome Into preted, as an Affent to this Meeting the States; by others, as an unjust Differ But if fo, the Prime Officers of State! Swedeland, do pretend that in such a Cal they are impowr'd by the ancient Lau

and Constitutions of the Kingdom, to convene a General Affembly of the States. They met accordingly at Suderkopin. As foon as the News of it came to the King, he charged them not to proceed any further, declaring that he would never ratifie fuch Resolutions, that were taken cortrary to his Will and Pleasure. But no Regard was had to fuch Prohibitions of The States maintain'd that the King's. their Meeting at this Juncture of time was both Lawful and Necessary for the Welfare of the Kingdom. They then came to a Resolution, not to allow of any other Religion in Swedeland, saving the Protestant Persuasion, according to the Ausburg Confession of Faith. That the Rires and Worship after the manner of Rome, should be every where Abolisht. That Priefts of that Communion should haften out of the Kingdom in a Fortnight's time. The Duke of Sudermania was declared Regent during the King's Absence: With this Limitation, that all Affairs thould be Administred by him in Concurrence with the Senate. Many other Laws were ordain'd for the Preservation of the Liberty and Privileges of the Country; and they who would not submit to such Regulations, were declared to be evilly affected toward the Welfare of the Land, and to be Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity.

Charles his Regency seemed now to be

1611. standing betwixt the Duke of Suthe Senat.

A Misunder- well Established; so that Sigismond had no other way left him, but to endeavour to create Jealousies and Divisions betwixt dermania and that Duke and the Senate. This took : and it was cunningly carried on. Charles was the more readily disposed to fall our with the Senat, for that he did suspect them with holding a Correspondency with those of the Province of Fineland, who The Senators still held for the King. on th'other hand complained, that he did all things after his own fancy, and dealt harshly with such as opposed his Defigns in the leaft. Charles alledged, that they did wast the Publick Revenue; and had fomented Misunderstanding betwixt the King and him, with a defign (as it should feem) to ruin both his Majesty and himfelf, that they themselves might thereby become fole Masters. He made a shew of laying down the Administration of Affairs that was committed to him; but was extreamly furprifed when he found not one of the Senate opposed that his feeming Resolution. Therefore confidering with himself, that he had gone too far to retreat (in hopes to flip his Neck out of the Collar) he again laid hold of the Helm of publick Affairs. He Summon'd a General Affembly of the Senates to be held at Arboga. There the Senate with many of the Nobility formed a Ainct Party, in opposition to that of the

Dukes.

Dukes; many went home again, and there were not very many that came to this Parliament held at Arboga. The Decrees of the Convocation at Upfal, were here confirmed, and whatever was enacted by the late General Diet at Suderkoping. Addresses were made to Charles, to request him not to Abandon the Government at this juncture, with a promise that none should be allowed to have so great a sway as he, in the Administration of publick Affairs. Yet the Senate refused their Affent to these New Regulations, and the Chancellor with some others left the Kingdom upon it.

Such a favourable Conjuncture as this, King Sigifprompted Sigismond to march with a good monds un-Army towards Swedeland; if he had made successful Atmore speed, he might have disperst the duce the D. Duke's Party, which grew weaker every of Sudermaday; but the King's flackness, gave him nia by force. time to gather strength, and to seise on many fortified Places, and to secure the Fleet. When Sigismond Landed, the Elector of Brandenbourg, and other Princes of Germany, us'd their Endeavour to Reconcile the Nephew and Uncle, but their Negotiations proved ineffectual. Charles protested, that he only sought the Preservation of the Peace of the Privileges, and of the Religion of the Country. But Sigismond would not trust him. He resolved to be the ruine of an Uncle, who openly aspired to no less than the Crown.

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1611:

These two Princes was each of 'em at the Head of his own Army, and there was great likelihood that the Fate of one Battle, would decide the Quarrel. Sigismend was so overseen, that his Camp was surprised at Linkoping. Part of his Army was kill'd, and some drown'd. To fave the remainder, he fued to his Uncle for a Peace. Charles agreed to it, on condition that the five Swedish Senators that were with the King, might be delivered up to him; he charged them to be principal Authors of all these Distractions, and that they should be brought to their Tryal for it, at the next Sitting of the The two Princes concluded a Treaty: Charles renewed his Oath of Allegiance to the King. And Sigismond ingaged that for his part, he would govern the Realm henceforward, according to the Constitution of the Country, and his Coronation Oath. He further promis'd to call a Parliament in four Months time, and that all Matters in Controversy should be there decided, in presence of such Commissioners as the Emperor, the Confederate Kings, and Electors should appoint, on Application made to 'em for it. There were other Stipulations made for the Mutual security of both Princes, and for the Disbanding of their Forces on each fide. Care was taken to add this farther Article, That in case King Sigismond performed not this Treaty, his Subjects of Swedeland Swedeland should be discharged of their 1611.

Oath of Fidelity to him.

The King and Duke had frequent Meet- The States of ings, and all things feem'd dispos'd to- depose King ward a lasting Peace. Charles seemed sigismond. fincerely inclined to observe the Treaty on his part. But Sigifmond vext to the Heart, to fee himfelf forced to submit to his Uncle's Terms, retired fecretly into Poland, inftead of going to Stokbolm, as he had promifed. He was no fooner arrived at Danesick, but that he publisht in all Courts of Europe, that his Uncle was a Traytor, and a Rebel; and therefore pretended that he himself was in no ways bound to the Treaty concluded at Linkoping. Was it possible for him to do any thing that could more contribute to the promoting of Charles his Defigns? who knew accordingly to turn all this to the best Advantage. He therefore so managed the point, that the States met at Linkoping, where Sigismond was cited, and fummoned to make good his Promises at the last Treaty of Accommodation, That he would embrace the Protestant Religion, that he would come to make his Residence in Swedeland, or that at leaft, he would fend his Son Prince Ladiflaus to be brought up under his Uncle's Tuition, in case that he himself did chuse rather to tarry in Poland. It was at the same time Enacted by the States, that in cafe the King refused to accept these Terms, that M 4

he and his Issue should forfeit all their Right to the Crown of Swedeland, which would be bestowed on a Person capable to govern this Realm, after the Fundamental Laws of the Land. Whilft Sigismond dallyed to return an Answer, the Duke of Sudermania was defired to take the Government upon him, and to maintain the Protestant Religion. The States fince held at Stokbolm declared, That they were no longer bound to the Oath of Allegiance they had taken to Sigismond, because he had contravened his Grandsather's last Will and Testament, had not performed the Office of a good King, refused to observe the Treaty concluded with him at Linkoping, and slighted all Remonstrances made to him. Yet after all this, they made an offer of the Crown to Prince Ladiflaus, in case that in a years time, he came to refide in Swedeland, and would be instructed in the Protestant Religion. But that if Sigismond and his Son refused to agree to such reasonable Demands as these, they Solemnly protested, that neither himself nor his Issue, should be ever capable of pretending to the Crown of Swedeland.

Charles Duke of Suderm nia, chofen King of Swedeland.

Nothing in the World could be more favourable to Charles his Designs, than such a Conjuncture of Affairs as this was. King Sigismond took a fancy to maintain the Claim of the pretended Demetrius in Muscovia. He had afterwards several wrang-

wrangling Contests with the higher No- 1611. bility of Poland, so that whilst he was thus taken up, all he could do in some of the Remotest Provinces of Swedeland, proved to be very weak and unfuccessful. Then the Duke become Mafter of the Heart of the Country, and of the best Garrisons, summon'd the States to meet at Norkoping in March following, in the stear 1607. To make the World believe that he had no hand in perverting the Loyalty of Sigismond's Subjects, nor of Usurping of his place on the Throne, he offer'd to lay down the Regency committed to him, and even proposed to accomodate Matters with Sigismond, or to place John the King's Brother on the The States would have no further mention of either Sigismond, or of his Son. As for Prince John, whether it was that he more loved his Ease than Ambition, or whether he rightly guess'd at his Uncle's Real Sentiments in the bottom. who made fuch Proposals but for a shew. but truly covered the Government for himself; John (I say) did very generously refuse it in outward appearance, declaring at the same time, That he was content with his Dutchy of East Gothia, and would always approve himself a faithful Subject. if any Person that was better able to govern the Realm than himself, in such Trottblesom times as these. Charles therefore after so many shews of declining the Crown

Crown (which were never thought to be fincere) accepted it at last. It was ever fetled on his Heirs Male, and not to devolve to John, but for want of such Isfue Male of the Body of Charles. The States being moreover sensible that Queen Catherine Jagellon was the chief Promotress of the Troubles and Difficulties, that King 70hn her Husband, and her Son Sigismond had brought the Protestant Religion under, decreed that their King might be only Marry'd to a Protestant. The New King without any more adoe writ to Sigismond, and to the Commonwealth of Poland, to give them notice of his Accession to the Crown, and to make them an offer of renewing former Alliances betwixt both Kingdoms. The States of Swedeland writ to the same purpose, to the Senate of Poland in particular. Charles was presently after Crown'd at Upfal, together with Christina his Wife, overjoyed to fee her felf now above Sigifmond's disdain.

The King of Poland did not vouchfafe to make any Answer to his Uncle's Letter, looking on him to be no better than an Usurper. The Senate writ only to the States of Swedeland. The Polanders took upon 'em to tax the Swedes, after an insulting way, with Disloyalty towards Sigifmond; they protested they would own no other as lawful King of Poland, saving him: They inveighed bitterly against

Mercure Francois, 1607, & 1608. the cunning Tricks made use of (as they 1611. pretended) by Charles to strip his Nephew of the Crown. The States of Swedeland replied to this Letter by a Manifesto directed to the Senate of Poland; wherein they did justifie their own Conduct all along towards Sigismond, and the choice they had made of a new King. Some Arguments were made use of in this Apology, which were unanswerable by the Senate of Poland, they being levelled peculiarly against it. On Sigismond's sudden and clandestine Retreat after the Treaty of Linkoping, the Swedes retort it thus on the Polanders: 'You must needs own, that if your King had ferved fuch a flippery Trick, you would have long ago taken away the Crown you had bestow'd upon him. The Act you formerly made against King Henry III. of France, is an evident proof of it. He secretly retired, unknown to you, to take Poffeffion of his Father's and of his Uncle's 'Succession: He soon after writ to you, ' that he would take care, ye should be as ' well govern'd as if he were among you 'in Person: You took no notice of such a ' Pretence, but immediately proceeded to 'a new Election. Poland (faid you) was 'never wont to be governed by Deputies. Well, be it fo. And what do you make of us, whose Case is no ways inferiour to yours? Swedeland neither cannot be ' without a King resident in it. The Swedes made

1611. made as pertinent Answers to that Charge of their having called an Affembly of the States without Sigismond's leave. 'It is a received Custom among us (said they) 'That the chief Officers of the Realm have a Right to fummon an Affembly of the States in the King's Ablence; and 'you have practis'd the same on certain Occasions. It is not so long fince that ' you held a Diet without your King Sigif-"mond's leave: It was for the maintain-'ing of your Liberties: Well then; and we are resolved to do the like for the preferving of ours.

The King of Swedeland Sends a Challenge to the K.

Charles, both before and after his coming to the Crown, was engaged in a War in Livonia against the Polanders. of Denmark. He sometimes got the best; at other times he sustained considerable Losses. But the Polanders had Work enough both at home and in the Parts of Muscovia, that hindred the Advantage they might have taken by a confiderable Victory they had obtained in Livonia. After this, Christian IV. King of Denmark, declared War against the King of Swedeland. Perhaps Christian thought he might eafily reduce Swedeland, weakned by Civil Divisions, and the Diversion of its main Strength and Army at that present employed abroad, both in Livonia and Muscovia; where Charles supported against the Polanders the Interest of Suski, whom the Muscovites had placed on the Throne. However, the King of Denmark wrote a long

long Letter in the Year 1611. to the States of Swedeland; wherein he complained of feveral Losses and Damages, which he pretended himself and Subjects, had sustained by means of the Swedish Nation: Their Answer did not satisfie Christian ; and he doubtless expected a satisfactory one : Denmark therefore declar'd War against Swedeland. They that have a mind to pick a Quarrel with their Neighbours. are generally more ready to make an Irruption, than those are to make a De-Christian enters into Swedeland, takes the City of Calmar, attacks the Iflands of Oeland and of Borkbolm, becomes Master of them. But the King of Denmark, at his coming back, finds the King of Swedeland incamp'd before him near Calmar.

Then it was that Charles fent a Challenge by a Herald at Arms to King Christian: Copies of it were spread abroad in all Parts of Europe. After some hard and reproachful Expressions that Charles uses against his Enemy, Since you are at the Head of your Army (said he to him) Let us spare the innocent Blood of our Subjects; let us decide our Quarrel in a single Combat, after the laudable Custom of the Grecians of old. I challenge you to it : If you decline fighting, I'll never look on you to be a Man of Honour, or a gallant Soldier. But the King of Denmark's Answer was much more abuseful. He declared, That whatever Charles chargged

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ged him with, was but a parcel of impudent Lyes, vended by one who was better at such Railings than at downright fighting at the Head of his Army. As for the Challenge he had received, he faid it argued, that Charles stood in need of some Hellebore to purge his Brain withal. Might not such course Language as this justifie that way of the Greek Poet of old, who is tax'd with reprefenting his Kings and Princes scolding at one another after a mean and scurrilous manner? Truly Princes are much like other Men: they forget themselves too often; they happen to utter Words fometimes unbecoming their Rank and Character. Here you have a Proof on't.

Death of of Sweden-

It is likely that Christian, by those last Charles King Expressions, intended to upbraid Charles with an Apoplexy, of which he had a Fit not long before. Charles required pretty large Supplies of Money for making the necessary Preparations for a War, with which Swedeland was threatned by the King of Denmark. The States refused to grant any; which put him into fuch a violent Pattion, that he fell into a Fit of Apoplexy upon it. This Accident left fuch ill Symptoms behind, that they brought a Weakness both of Body and Mind on him ever after. It was thought the Grief which feiz'd him to fee the Progress the King of Denmark had made over him, did occasion this Relaple, which cost Charles his Life, for he died

Book II. LEWIS XIII.

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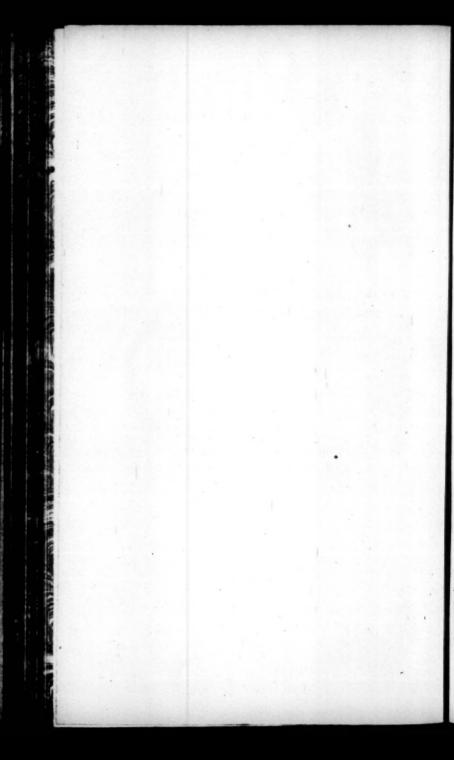
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died the 31st of October following, being fixty one Years old. His Son Gustavus Adolphus succeeded him. This Prince was yet in his Minority; though notwithstanding he had already given signal Proofs of his Courage and Valour.

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HISTORY

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REIGN

OF

LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Navarre.

BOOK III.

HE face of Affairs was quite alter'd in Europe, fince the Death The Condition of Henry the 4th. France was France was in fines Mary, in fuch a Flourishing Condition of Medicis both at Home and Abroad, that came to be Spain which a year or two before did Regent. It shad in extream awe of her, began now by degrees to get the uppermost. The false Maxims of a deprayed Policy, with which the Pope and the Duke of Tuscany L had

- 1612.

had flily prepossest an Imprudent Queen, together with some Spanish Pistoles, feafonably bestowed among her Cabinet-Councellors (as a great States-man in those times has it) did bring about this sudden Revolution. This Queen Mary of Medici, being perswaded that an Alliance of a double Match to be made between both Crowns, was altogether necessary toward the Establishing of her Authority both against the Princes of the Blood, and all other Opposers, did therefore foment Divisions both at Court and throughout the Kingdom; She created Jealousies, and gave Umbrage to the best Allies the Crown had; and raised the finking Spirits of her Memoires in Sons most formidable Enemies. Confederacy with England, the United Provinces, the Protestant Princes of Germany, the Commonwealth of Venice, and the Duke of Savoy, had been the Bulwark and Strength of France. Princes who were Apprehensive of the too great Power of the House of Austria, were enter'd into a League with the Deceased King. The good Correspondency that he took care to maintain in this fort of a Confederacy which he Headed, did keep Spain in awe, and within due bounds. This put Henry in a capacity of undertaking any thing, whenever he flould think it most expedient. But so soon as these Allies of France perceived that the Queen Regent was entring into a frict Alliance with the House of Austria, they present-

Discours du Duc de Rohan für l'Etat de la France Apres fes

ly grew Jealous, and betook themselves 1612. to other Measures. The Venetians did not so openly declare themselves. The Duke of Savoy, extream angry that no regard was now had of the Treaties that had been made between King Henry and him; fought all manner of ways to raife Commotions in France, he had thoughts of fiding with Spain, if he might be secured of any thing to content his Ambition. France taking no care to preserve the old good Correspondency that was between the Protestant Princes of Germany, and elsewhere, they fell off, one from another. The House of Austria that has always a watchful Eye to its own Interest, was wife enough to make the best of these Divisions. James King of England might have in this case, supplied the Place of Henry the 4th, and compel'd the Queen Regent to keep to the Model of Government that was left with her by the late King her Husband. The concern of the Protestant Religion, as well as the Wellfare of England, did require, that Fames should have at that time, thought on't better. But alas, the good Prince never lov'd fincerely either one, or th'other. Such a State of Affairs as this, did well for the Court of Rome. The Popes have been ever Spaniards by Inclination. The Kings of Spain are wont to bring the Popes over to their Interest, by affecting a great Zeal to ruine Herefie. The aim of these, is to raise L 2 their

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their Worldly State; and of the former, to serve those that will best contribute to restore their Spiritual Monarchy. It appears that the Court of France at this time was pleased with this old policy of Spain, whereby to gain the Popes savour. But was it not a little too late to think of this way? The Court of Rome never keeps a Neutrality with France, but when reduced to it by some emergent Necessity. The French have Principles that are opposite to the Pope's Pretensions, and to the

greediness of his Courtiers.

The Factions which had formerly put France into such a Confusion, under the Regency of Catharine of Medicis, were now feen to revive under this Government of Mary. For the maintaining of her own Authority, Mary took care to bring down the Princes of the Blood Royal, as that other Queen her Cousin had done before. She thought fit to make use of the House of Guise, which enter'd into a new Knot with that of the Duke d'Epernon. Instead of joyning with the real Friends, and Well-wishers of the Crown, the gave her felf over to be led by the Popes, and King of Spain's Counsels, who could not grow great, but at the coft of young Lewis. The Princes of the blood understood this great Evil. They were in the Right, but in renouncing their Forefathers Religion, they had loft all their Credit. They likewise wanted Strength to oppose the Queen Regent's Defigns. They

They of the Reformed Religion in France being well inclin'd, fought to prevent the Mischief this double Alliance with Spain, would bring on the Head of the Protetestants. But alas, how could they help themselves? There were now, no Princes of the Blood to Head them any more. The Grandees of that Communion divided more than ever, fince the Affembly at Saumur, were now ready to undoe one another. I come now to particulars, of the History of the year 1612. We shall in it begin to see these three different Parties following, their Intrigues, and the different condition they are in. Queen Regent and her Confidents, shall make use of the Kings Authority to cover their wicked Deligns. The Princes of the Blood shall exclaim against the ill Management of the Government; but either no ear shall be given to what they'll fay, or their Months shall be stopt by falle Promises, or flight Gratifications. The Hugenot Party fully convinced that all effectual ways are taken to ruine them totally, shall make loud Complaints, and shall bestir themselves without being able to mend their Matters in the least thereby. Their mutual Divisions will hinder them from having sufficient Strength, to cause their just Remonstrances to be heard.

Cosme Grand Duke of Toscany, now Megatiations enter'd into a Closer Alliance with the double Marria House of Austria, by a Marriage with age between Magdalen Arch-Dutchels of Grats, does France and

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fet on foot the Negotiation that was begun by his Father Ferdinand, concerning a double Marriage to be concluded betwixt the two Crowns of France, and of Spain. The better to succeed, for to obtain the Deceased Kings consent, he proposed a third Match between Don Carlos, King Philip the 3d's fecond Son, and the Princefs Christina, second Daughter of France. The King of Spain did offer to give with the Infant the Sovereignty of the Low Countries, after the Arch-Dutchels Isabella's Death. But Henry gave no ear to this New Proposal, no more than to the former, being convinced that it was only a Snare for to get him to Abandon the Protection of the United Provinces.

Siri Memer'e recondite. 311 to.

As foon as the News of his Death was brought to Madrid, the Duke of Florenpag. 310, & ce's Embassador at that Court, did again fet on foot the Bufiness of the double He knew well enough Marriage. how agreeable it would be to his Mafter, to gratifie Mary of Medicis, who had an extream defire this Affair might Succeed. The Duke of Lerma, and the other spanish Ministers of State, readily agreed to the renewing of this Negotiation; but they finding that France was not now so much to be feared as heretofore, they made some other lower Proposals. These Gentlemen would hear no more of that third Marriage of Don Carlos with the Princess Christina, pretending their King was unwilling to Alienate and cut

cut off for ever, the Sovereignty of the 1612. Low Countries, from the Monarchy of Spain; and they did even give out, that Philip was not out of Hopes of reducing the United Provinces, as foon as the Truce was expired, or broke. And on pretence, that the Daughters of France do not carry along with them into another Family, any Right of Succession to the Crown; the Council of Spain scrupled moreover to give the Eldest Infanta of Spain to the New King of France; so that they would offer only the Second Daughter. Mary of Medica would have been contented with this it felf, so that Philip would also accept of the Second Daughter of France. By this means a way was left to fatisfie the Duke of Savo who with great earnestness challenged, that the promise made to him by the late King, of giving the Eldest Daughter of France in Marriage to the Prince of Piedmont, might be now made good. But Spain would also hinder any such strict Alliance and good Correfpondency-betwixt this Duke Charles Emanuel, and the Crown of France. So many different Views that Spain had, render'd the New Negotiation very difficulr.

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The Council of Spain out of a defire to defend the Dukes designs, choose ra- Siri ther to give the Eldest Daughter to the recondite. King of France, than that the Prince of Pi- Tem II. pag edmont should go away with the Eldest 359. 447. Daughter of France. So that they came 448.

to this Agreement about the latter end of 1610. that Lewis and Prince Philip should each of them Marry the Eldest Daughter of the two Houses of France and Spain, on condition that the Infant Ann that was defign'd for the King of France, should renounce all the Pretentions that the or her Children might ever have on any of the Estates belonging to the Monarchy of Spain. This was the only Expedient that was found, to prevent that the King of France's condition in the case, might not be better than those of Philip. Kings Authorised the Duke of Tuscany to demand in Marriage the two Princesses in their Names; Mary of Medicis had now obtain'd, what she had a great while longed for. But the new not how to bring about, that this double Marriage might be liked of in France. Villeroy did Negotiate this Treaty. Being always fufpected to be a Penfionary of Spain, he used all the Intrigues possible, to compass this Business. The Duke of Sulli. before he was put out of Favour, did vigorously oppose the Matter. Ill binder you well enough (faid he) one day in the presence of the Queen Regent, from per-Swading her Majesty to Suffer her Self to be led by all the Figuries of the Popes, and of the King of Spain. The Friendship of the Protestant Potentates is more useful to this State, than that of Paul, and of Philip. The Queen heard all this, without faying a word. But such bold Expressions,

ons, and so becoming a true Frenchman, did not a little contribute to haften the Dukes Difgrace. It was hoped that this Project of the double Marriage, would be carried on very eafily, when Sully was removed from the Ministry. The Mareschal of Bouillon as less stiff, was looked upon as a fit Person to get this Undertaking to be liked off by the Protestants, both abroad and at home.

At the end of the Month of April, The double 1611. all points were agreed upon. The Marriage is Treaty of the double Match was Signed, concluded beand both Kings promifed one to the other Kings. Reciprocally in Writing, to accomplish it. The Pope and Great Duke of Florence, were to be the Mediators of ir. Treaty of the particular Match between Memorie rethe King of France, and the Infanta, was condite. to be drawn up and published at Paris; 524, 525, that of the Prince of Spain, at Madrid. 526, &c. Another Treaty was likewise made of a League Defensive between the two Crowns. Lewis and Philip engaged themfelves to give murually each other certain Succors, in case either of them should be Arracked from Abroad, or any Infurrection was to be supprest within either of their States. The Spaniards had demanded an Offensive League to be made, but the Queen Regent would not consent to it. This was sufficient to convince her, that Philip fought after nothing more, than to make France lose the Amity and Confidence the had in the Protestant Princes

1612. and States. Mary content to Stipulate, that the two Treaties should remain secret for some time, had not the prudence to break off a Negotiation, wherein the Enemies of young Lewis his Prosperity, might serve themselves with an Opportunity of laying Snares for him on all sides. The Approaching Affembly of the Reformed Protestants at Saumur, was the cause why the Oneen demanded this De-It was feared, that this News would too much alarm them, and they should take Measures to oppose a design so Contrary to the Repose and Common Security of all Protestants.

Intriques at the French Court, as foon as the Treaty about the double Marradge came to be wheren.

la Regence

Menicis.

The Queen and her Confidents employ'd all their Wit and Industry, to gain to their fide the Princes of the Blood and the Grandees, to the end the Affair of the double March might pals without any Contradiction. The Union of the Prince of Conde and Count Soissons, was one of the greatest Obstacles to get over. Intrigues were laid to Disunite them, and when

t'was perceived, they were too ftedfaft one tot other, it was endeavour'd to gain them feparately, by promifes of granting them Memoires de some new Gratifications. Both thefe re-

tired from Court, discontented that a de Marie de Treaty had been made with Spain, without their Knowledge, though express Couriers were dispatcht to give Cardinal de Joyeuse, and the Duke of Epernon notice of it. The Count of Soifons had a defign in his Head to remove from Court,

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the present Ministers of State, and chiefly the Chancellor Sileri, whom he hated more than the reft. Soilins accused this prime Magistrate, of shameful and insatiable Coverousness, in felling Justice publickly to the dishonour of the Government, and damage of particular Persons, who had any business to Sollicite with Though the Count de Soiffons was extreamly angry with Conchini, fince the rupture of a Marriage between the Son of the one, and the Daughter of the other, yet he kept still some measures with the Marquels of Ancre. They agree'd very well together for displacing Ministers of The new favourite believed he should find some Obstacles to the encrease of his Power, as long as they held any Office. After fome Negotiations, both the Princes returned to the Court.

The Constable de Montmorency was htred in by a Marriage of his Son, with a Memoriere Princels of the House of Mantua the condite. Queens Niece. The Mareschal Bouillon Tom. ILDE faid sometimes well in Counsel, that too 601, 609 first a League with Spain, would be pre- 612. judicial to the State: But at the bottom, he had made his Market. Lesdiguieres longed excessively to be Duke and Peer in all Forms. The hopes which were given him of making the Letters, which he obtain'd to be approv'd in Parlement, made him pliable, and complaisant to every thing the Court would have. The Duke de Guife, to whom Mary had recourse in all

Blood had given her, affured her of the Service of his whole Family, and all their Friends. I have only one Favour to ask of you, Madam, said he to the Queen, which is, that after this Important Service, your Majesty will not abandon us, as you have already done, to the Resentments of the Prin-

ces of the Blood.

The Duke of Epernon was yet more necessary to the Queen upon this occasion; he was gone from Court much difcontented, but he was gently dealt with during his Absence; as soon as he came back to Court, they made him all imaginable Careffes. The Prince of Conti. the Duke de Guise, and the House of Lorrain, the Duke de Nevers, all the Courtiers, except the Creatures of the Prince of Conde, and Count Soiffons, paid him extraordinary Honours. The Chancellor, Villeroy and Conchini, flewed him as much respect and deference, as he could possibly wish from them. T'was the furest way to engage this proud and haughry Man, by letting him gain to himself a point of Homour of being Victorious over the Princes of the Blood, and opposing them vigorously, when ever they should undertake to break the Treaty of the double Match. The Ambaffador of England complain'd aloud of this Alliance; but t'was hop'd they could appeale his Mafter, by fending to him the Mareschal de Boullon. Aerfens Ambaffador from the United Provinces

vinces made a great Noise, he moved Heaven and Earth to hinder this Affair. the Consequences of which, appeared to be dreadful to his Republick. Refuge was order'd to go to the Hague, to secure the Amity of Prince Maurice, and the States-General. Laftly, Schomberg was fent to the Protestant Princes in Germany, in order to diffipate the jealousies which

this Alliance might give them.

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The Prince of Conde and the Count de The Double Soiffons being come back to Court about Marriageii in the beginning of the year, 1612. all Per-fine carryed in fons were brought about to confent to the double Match, whenfoever it should be proposed in Council, but the two Princes were not yet satisfied. The same day they were call'd to Council, Conde first Memoria redemanded, that every one might declare pag. 618, his Opinion according to his degree. 619, &c. Chancellor Sileri spoke much in praise of the Queen's Administration of Affairs, and laid open the great benefit which would accrue to the State from this double March. The Duke de Guise ser forth the Eloquence, which was natural to his Family. There's no need, faid he, of Deliberation upon fo. Advantageous a Proposition, we ought only to thank God that ber Majesty bath happily brought about the Noble design, which Heaven had inspired into The Constable Montmorency with the Dukes of Nevers and Epernon, extreamly approved of what was faid. The Mareschal Bouillon, and Lesdiguieres said

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only this, that they ought to take care, the New Treaty with the Spaniards might not be prejudicial to the ancient Alliances of the Crown, with other Sover

reigns.

At last came the Prince of Conde's turn to speak, but he was so startled with the Duke of Guise's positive way of delivering himself, as that he was quite dasht out of Countenance; and after an indifferent manner faid, that, fince this was an Affair resolved upon, it was needless to ask our Opinion. It was believ'd; that the two Princes came with a defign to oppose the The words which the Count de Soissons let fall, confirm'd Persons in this Opinion. You fee . Sir, faid he, turning himself to the Prince of Condo, that we are dealt with here, as Fools and Serving-The Queen vext at this Reproach, would have spoke, but the Chancellor cunningly turn'd her by from it, by propoling some other matter to discourse upon; and so it was concluded, that the double Match should be publisht the 25th day of March following, and the New Dake of Mayenne was delign'd for an extraordinary Embassy to Spain, to demand the Infanta with the usual Ceremonies. The Prince of Conde and Count Soiffons, shewed a great weakness upon this occasion; their Consciences would not suffer them to approve the thing, and either fear or hope, hinder'd them from speaking; as they ought to have done. Sir. then

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then said the Constable to his Son-inLaw the Prince of Conde, you neither know
how to Fight with Courage, or yield with
Prudence.

The Queen Regent found her felf o- The Popes therwise troubled upon the occasion of Nuncio's an Edict, which the Parliament had made the Edit of upon the Contest of the University of Parliament, Paris with the Jesuits, for the opening of given in fatheir College of Clermont. The good Fa- University. thers flatter'd themselves that the chief against the, President de Verdun would be as favoura- Tesuis. ble to them, as his Predecessor had been to the contrary; but they were deceived in their Hopes, whether it was that this Magistrate affected to appear Zealous for the Liberties of the Gallican Church, or that the Remonstrances of Dr. Richer Syndick of the faculty of Paris, or the pleadings of the Advocate Ge-Memorie 70neral Servin had convine'd the chief Presi-pag. 624. dent, that if once the Society should fet 625, &c. footing in the University of Paris, it would Establish there its pernicious Doctrine; or Lastly, whether it was that Verdun did not love so much the Jesuits at the bottom of his Heart, as other Magifrates had done; before he pronounc'd the Edict, he put on so gay and content a Countenance, as the good Fathers believ'd they had gain'd their Cause: But what was their Mortification, when they understood that t'was ordered them forthwith to Sign a Conformity to the Doctrine of the Sorbonne Schools, and even in what concerned

concerned the preservation of the sacred Per-Sons of Kings, the maintaining their Royal Authority, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church, according as it was mentioned in the four Articles which had been proposed to them, and were recited in express words in the Edict! From hence was the Society brought to great Extre-They must Subscribe a Doctrine detefted by the Court of Rome, or must be exposed a second time to leave the Kingdom. The Curates of Paris had now bound themselves to present joyntly a Petition to the Parliament, that they should be hinder'd from hearing of Confession: The University put up another Petition, that the Jesuits might be enjoyn'd to shut up their Colleges, in all the Towns of the Parlement of Paris's Jurisdiction where they have taught, without allowing their Letters Parent, which the late King had granted them, to be made good in Parlement. Now the good Fathers had no other Remedy, but to make use of the Nuncio's Intercession, and cause the Cardinals and Prelates devoted to the Court of Rome, to act for them.

Obaldini the Popes Nuncio, was very forward to bestir himself in savour of them; he was no less alarm'd than the Jesuits. The chief President brag'd, that he would make the sour Arricles proposed to the Jesuits, be made Solemnly, received in the saculty of Paris, and whatever the Advocate-General maintain'd in

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his Pleading. The Nuncio in his first Audience he had of the Queen, greatly complain'd against the New Edict and Servin: His Discourse ended in earnest Prayers to her Majesty, for this speedy prevention of the Mischief which this forward undertaking of the Parlement was making, (faid he) against Religion. Mary de Medicis gave the Nuncio good words: But it was not fufficient to have Circumvented a Woman not so clearfighted, Superstitious to the utmost degree, and absolutely depending upon the Pope; for the Ministers of State, and the principal Men in Parlement were to be brought over: The Queen was not in a capacity to do any thing without them, upon this occasion. The Nuncio fent first his Auditor to the Ministers of State's Houses. There he made a great noise, Is it then come to this pass, saith this Italian, that the Kings Advocates General believe, they have right to propose in Parlements, Questions which respect the administration of Sacraments? Doth this Assembly protend to be the Sovereign Judges of them? If the Edict which it hath fet forth , did only oblige the Jesuits to follow the Doltrine received in ev'ry Church, or at least, what the Prelats of the Gallican Church profess to believe, the Matter might have been born withal; but when a Parlement shall constrain them to conform to what is not taught, but in so small a Corporation as Sorbonne, the Pope must needs condemn so unsufferarable

rable a procedure, Then the Auditor infifted from the Nuncio, that the Kings Privy Council might make void the Edict of Parlement, or at least Suspend the Execution of it.

The Nuncio's Railing againft the Advocate General Servin.

Then the Master on his part bawl'd, and ask'd if the Sorbonne pretended tomake a Schism in the Church, by the Adoption of a Doctrine, which was contrary to any received in all other Universities. If this continue, faith he, the Pope will be obliged to call a National Council in France, in order to have the Sorbonne Doctrine Condemned there, as Rash, False and Erroneous. In the mean time his Holiness Shall proceed by way of Ecclefiastical Cenfure against those Doctors, who shall subscribe the Articles which the Parlement proposes to the Jesuits. As for Servin, added this Italian Minister, all the World knows how he is a downright Hugonot, and a Pentioner to the King of England. His Office ought to be taken from him, or he for the future be probibited to speak any thing that concerns Religion, the Pope, the Court of Rome, and the Immunities of the Church. This Man infects the young Lawyers with his evil Sentiments; he strives to ferw the Hugonot Party, by breaking the good intelligence betwixt the Court of France, and the Holy Chair, and by soming Jealoufie and Distrust betwixt the Pope and the most Christian King. The Nuncio maintain'd further, that the Clergy of France ought to Excommunicate the Advocate General.

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General. If Humane respect, he added, stop the Bishops from doing this, the Pope bimself shall proceed against a Man, who meddles with making of New Articles of Faith, and Condemns for Herefie, Dostrines conformable to the Truth, which the Catholick Church teacheth. Paul the 5th, could he have dared to undertake the Excommunication of the principal Magistrates of France, for having stood up for the Interests of the King and State? Would to God, this bold Pope had undertaken it. One might have feen then, how the Gallican Church would have defended this great Article of its Liberties, viz. That a Magistrate cannot be Excommunicated for any thing, that regards the exercise of his Office. I question whether Paul the 5th could have got rid of this Affair, as well as of his Interdiction fulminated against the Republick of Venice.

The Nuncio complain'd chiefly of the Article touching the Seal of Confession, as it refers to ill Attempts upon the Persons of Kings and the State; he spoke of this, as if 'twas nothing less than Impiety and Sacrilege. This Dostrine, said he, is against the Security of the Persons of Princes. This is Surprizing; for the Parlement intended to do the King good Service in Establishing, that the Consessor is obliged to Reveal what he knows of ill Attempts, upon the Person of the Prince and State. Observe here, how the Popes Minister argued. Should this be received, he

he continued, Those who conceive fuch black Designs, will never come to Confession; a Priest will be no longer able to disswade his Penitent from the execution of his wicked Enterprize. When such forts of Practices are made known by way of Confession, its permitted to give the Prince or Magistrate notice of them in general Terms, without Naming or describing the Persons; but to use such a way of dissuasion, Discourageth Men from Confession of the Crime, they intend, and deprives their Confessors of the means to do this good Service for the Pub-What Ubaldini said against the Article, touching the Popes Superiority over the Council, was more Malitious, and more capable to affright the QueenRegent. The same Arguments, said he aloud, which the Sorbonne use to establish this Doctrine, prove likewise, that the States General of the Kingdom are above the King. The Hugonots, or at least the troublesom Catholicks, will be able to appeal to a future Council from the Sentence of Divorce, which Clement VIII. bath pronounced betwixt the Deceased King and Queen Margaret. The Birth of the King is not certain, according to these Principles, and that Man is in the Right, who provides against the Queen's Regency. This is that which Servin aims at. He's a declared Enemy to the Queen and her Council.

This great bustle rais'd through the Nuncio's means, was the reason why Marz de Medicis and her Ministers, resolved

to appeale the Italian: But the Grandees 1612. and Ministers of State, could not well agree amongst themselves about the Expedients, which ought to be taken. Grandees were for the Queen's Suspending the Execution of the Parlement's Edict, for the calling of this Affair to her Counsel, and that the Advocate General should receive a found Reprimand, and be advised never to engage the Queen again to fuch Difficulties. The Ministers of State were not of the Grandees mind ? They were afraid, least this high dealing should provoke the Parlement: Prudence required, they should handle this Matter much more discreetly in a time of the King's Minority, than at any other time. T'was found at last more convenient, to hinder the Sorbonne with foft words, from explaining themselves upon the four Articles, and to engage the Parlement it self to Limit the Edict, and not to receive any more New Petitions against the Jesuits. Conchini was ordered to speak to the The Nuncio's Presidents of Parlement from the Queen, tampering and inform them, that her Majesty wisht withthe Montheir Edict were Limited. The Chan-ment, to get cellor Sileri and Villeroy were further em- this Sentence ploy'd, for the obtaining the same from Mitigated. the Magistrates.

This Resolution did not at all please the Nuncio: He sees himself fent back to the Parlement to Limit an Edict, by a Negotiation with them, which might not be to the Pope's liking. These Gentlemen

are usually more stiff, and have less complaifance for the Court of Rome, than Ministers of State are. But now see once again, Ubaldini's Auditor bestill himself, he goes to visit the chief Prepdent de Verdun. His Master had ordered him to speak to this Magistrate as skillful ly, and with as much Civility as he could, The Auditor begins with the great praise of the chief President's Zeal for the good of the Church, his Devotion towards the Holy Chair, his Affection to the Service of the Queen, and his Inclination to do good to the Jesuits, After long Complements after the Italian Fashion, came his Complaints against the Edict of Parlement, and Servin's pleading. Laftly, followed the Inftances to this Magistrate, not to lessen the good Opinion Men had of him, but to confirm it, by caufing the Edict to be Limited. Verdun excused himself, saying, he was not Master of what the Parlement had ordain'd by a plurality of Voices; he told him, that the Advocate General had not spoke of the Holy Father, but in respectful Terms, and promised, that no more New Petitions against the Jesuits should be received, and measures taken to stifle this Affair. As for what concern'd the Limitation of the Edict, Verdun answer'd, that if the four Articles had not been there in express words, one could not believe the Nuncio had any reason to complain. Then proceeding, We shall fee, faith he, in the Interim,

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terim, what can be done for his Satisfaction. The Auditor infifted, that the Edict would be still reflecting upon the Jesuits, and hat might be therein suppos'd, their Wety taught a Doctrine contrary to the Security of the Person of Princes; How, going on, the Auditor said, can they proingle with a secure Conscience, to conform to the Sorbonne Dollrine, touching the Liberties of the Gallican Church? Thefe words include all what the Advocate General had Taid in his Plea, against the Authority of the Pope, and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

In vain did the Auditor display all his Eloquence. The chief President remain'd always inflexible to retrench from the Edict any thing which was there faid concerning the Liberties of the Gallican The Chancellor and Villeroy having press'dVerdun to this by the Queen's Order : Her Majesty, replyed he Courageously, would do better to Dissolve the Parlement, than oblige it to alter its Acts, for the pleasure of a Foreign Minister. All The All of that could be got from the chief Prefi-Limited. sident, was, that the four Articles should not be express'd in the Edict, and that where there was mention of the Liberties of the Gallican Church, there should be added these words; At all times kept and observ'd within the Realm. 'Twas promiled likewise, that the Jesuits should not be constrain'd against their will. The Queen confirm'd all this to the Nuneio, declaiming very much against poor Servin.

Servin. I promise you, said the, that be 1612. Skall not any longer thus escape, we shall make him become more prudent for the future.

> Obaldini was farther Intriguing with the Clergy, for to ftir up and incense the The Cardinal Perron and Gon-Bishops. zaga, who was then at Paris, cry'd ev'ry where against the Advocate General. A Heretick, a Heretick. Marquemont Archbishop of Lyons, was stoutly busie on his part with the Ministers and Prelates. Servin happening one day to be in the Queen's Closet with Cardinal Gonzaga and Perron; this latter had the boldness to tell the Advocate General, that he was an ignorant Fellow: The Cardinal was become extreamly proud from the Applauses, which his easie way of speaking and writing had procured him from the common People, who are rather dazled by the falle appearance of a brisk and lively fancy, than convinc'd by any folid Reasonings, which the greatest part of Men are not capable to discern. The remains we have of servin, and the Cardinal sufficiently prove that the Advocate General knew near as much as Perron. At least this Magistrate had greater Integrity of of Mind, and Sincerity. The Subtile Cardinal dar'd not to take up the Cudgels against Servin, upon the Pope's Authority or Liberties of the Gallican Church; He could not have got the better of him, but he fell upon the Article, touching the Seal

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of Confession, and as the Cardinal was a great Pratter and Sophister, he entangled the question after such a manner, for to find Heresies in what the Advocate General had said, as Servin being put to a Nonplus, deny'd what the Cardinal had laid to his Charge.

Cardinal Gonzaga not content to have given a Memoir to the Queen against Servin, had a mind to affront him in her Prefence. He call'd Servin Heretick, the King's, Queen's, and States Enemy. The Advocate General reply'd without being mov'd, that his Office obliged him to be careful of what concern'd the Interest of his Master, and the good of the Realm.

I know, Sir, he added, That you have the Honour to be Related to her Majesty. The Quality of being the Queen's Nephew, makes me have a Respect for you; but I am not to give an account of my Behaviour, to any besides the Queen. Gonzagu answer'd, that the best Service Servin could do the King, was never to swerve from the Catholick Faith, and not to divide France and the Holy Chair, and that one could not be a good Servant to the King, and an Enemy to the Pope at the same time. Before you prescribe us Lessons, faid Servin, being incen'ft at the Cardinal's boldness, who led a Scandalous Life at Paris, you ought to confider, Sir, of shewing us good Examples. The Queen prefently interrupted the Advocate General, and dismissing of him, order'd him to give the CardiCardinal Satisfaction. I don't require any, reply'd, Gonzaga, this Man is not in a capacity to give me any Offence. Poor evafion of a Grandee, whom the Truth of a Reproach had touch't to the quick!

The Prelates who were at Paris, Animated by the Archbishop of Lyons, set themselves likewise a crying against the Edict of Parlement, and the Advocate General. They very much blamed the Bishops of Beauvais and Noyon, who will present at the Judgment as Ecclesiastical Peers, for that they went not out of the Audience, as foon as they had heard what Servin had faid against the Authority of the Holy Chair, and Immu. as of the Church. Some were of Opinion to condemn for Herefie, what the Advocate General had faid touching Confession: But this did not content the Nuncio. To stop at this one Article, was tacitly to approve all the other, which concern'd the Council's Superiority over the Pope, and the Liberties of the Gallican Church. The Bishops too did not well agree amongst themselves upon the Article of Confession. They believ'd, that they had not Authority enough to declare in a private Affembly, upon a question of this Importance; neither had they the boldness to undertake it. Ubaldini had better luck at the Sarbonne; He form'd there a Cabal numerous enough to hinder the Paris faculty from declaring upon the Articles: Dr. Duyal at the Head of his Party promis'd

to answer, in case the Parlement pres't them to it, that the Faculty could do nothing without the Bishops, or without an express Order from the Queen; that the Articles in question had not only a Reference to Religion, but to State Affairs alfo. In the mean time the Jesuits were at a stand, they long'd to open their College of Clermont: To obtain this Permif- The Telains fion, they were to follow the Advice puzl'd how wnich the President Seguier their good they could Friend, and some others, gave to the So-court of Rome ciety, which was, to content the Parle- and the Parment by a Promise, to conform to the lement at the Doctrine generally received in the Uni-fame time. versity of Paris. But this exposed them too, to the Indignation of the Holy Father, and Court of Rome. The Cardinal Perron, the Bishop of Paris, and many other Prelates, Counsell'd them not to content the Parlement so far. Ubaldini entreated them from it, being persuaded, that the Honour of the Holy Chair was concern'd in this Affair. After great Confults, the Provincial accompanied by five other Jesuits, goes without giving notice to the Nuncio or Cardinals, to make a Declaration in Writing before the Regifter of Parlement, like to that which the Provincial had made in Parlement. vivà voce. The good Fathers believed, they should easily Extricate themselves in this Affair with the Court of Rome, when the thing was done, and should escape with only a chiding from the Nuncio, and M 2 their

their General, who would not be forry for it at the bottom of his Heart.

As foon as the Nuncio had understood what the Jesuits had done, he was in a furious Passion. Father Coton was order'd to wait on him, to Appeale him. The oily Tongu'd Jesuit represented to him to little purpose, that his Provincial did not think to do any Mischief in figning what he had already faid, viz. That the Rules of the Society required, it should conform to the Sentiments of the Universities, where it had Colleges; that their good Friends counsell'd them to prevent the Troubles which the Parlement would not fail to give them, if the Society should obstinately refuse to obey the Edict; Laftly, that they had believ'd the Pope to have Reasons, why he did not give them expresly Permission, to submit to a Law which the Parlement would impose upon them, but that they hop'd the Pope would not take it ill from them likewife, to have contented the Parlement, without the knowledge of the Court of Rome. The Nuncio was not paid with Doth it belong to you, faid these Reasons. he to Coton, to guess the Intentions of his Holiness? You should have consulted his Minister, who knows them better than any one And fince you ought to conform to the Sentiments of Universities, why have you not tarried till the Sorbonne explain'd clearby what it believes? In stead of consulting your President Seguier, and the Lawyers,

it might have been more expedient to have taken mine, and the Prelates their Advice. who have good Intentions, and have expected Orders from your Father General. Coton had nothing to reply; but the business The Nuncio likewife could was over. not further complain to the Queen, of the violence the Parlement had done the Jesuits; for one might have answer'd him, that the good Fathers went of their own accord, without any new Summons, to promise to conform to the Sentiments of the University, and Intentions of the Parlement. As Equivocations, Silence keeping, and Mental Refervation, are always the Society's great help; the Jesuits of Paris made wonderful use of them in the Letters they wrote to the Pope and Cardinal Borghese his Nephew. Can any one forbear laughing, and fee Coton speaking down right to his Holines, that by the Liberties of the Gallican Church, they understood nothing but the Concordate made betwixt Leo X. and Francis I.

Ubaldini bettirr'd himself yet farther A Book of with the Clergy and Sorbonne, to ruine DoctorRicher Richer, Doctor and Syndic of the Faculty Sindic of the at Paris. At the beginning of the year, ris, occasions two Books were put out, one of which there agrees brought great trouble, to the Author, tho' fir. his Name was not put to it. The first was but a Collection of some Decrees of the Faculty at Paris, upon the Authority of the Pope. T'was intended to prove herein, that the ancient Doctrine of Sor-

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bonne is, That Jesus Christ hath instituted an Aristocratical Government in his Church. And because the Court of Rome accuseth all those of Huguenotism, who oppose it's Usurpations, the Author of this Collection was willing to prevent this Reproach against the Faculty, in joyning to his Collection the Sorbonne Decrees against Luther, and du Plessis Mornai. The second Book unfolds the Hypothesis of the Aristocratical Government of the Church. The Title of the Book is, Of Ecclesiasti-

cal and Politick Power.

The Author pretended that Spiritual Jurisdiction belongs properly to the Church, and that the Pope and Bishops are but the Instruments and Ministers whom she makes use of, to exercise this Jurisdiction; that Jesus Christ is the Essential Head of the Church. the Pope is only Fiead Ministerial, as they term it, and that the Authority of the Pope extends only to particular Churches, where he is to fee, that the Decrees and Canons publish't in General Councils be observ'd; that the Church ought not to be govern'd by one Absolute Monarch, but by the Canons; that Infallibility is given to the Church in general, that is to fay, to the Body of the chief Pastors, every particular Bishop and Pope likewise being subject to Error; that the frequent calling of General Councils is necessary; that the Decrees of the Pope oblige no further, than they are Conformable to the Canons;

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Canons; Laftly, that the Pope cannot impose any Obligation upon the Church against her will, and without her consent to it.

As to politick Power the Author maintains, that Jefus Christ hath given no Temporal Jurisdiction to the Church . and that fhe hath not any power to use the Sword, or Constraint; that Censures and Excommunications are the Spiritual Arms of the Church, and that they could not heretofore be employ'd, without the Counfel of the Affembly, which they call'd Presbyters; that the King is the Defender and Protector of the Natural, Divine, and Canonical Law, and that in this Quality, he hath right to make Laws, and use the Sword to maintain, what God and the Councils have ordain'd; that Christian Emperors have by Right call'd the first General Councils: That Appeals as Appeals from Abuse or Error are lawful, and that Sovereigns ought to receive them in quality of being Protectors of the Canons; that the Church hath an indirect Power over Temporal Matters, by way of Perfuasion and Excommunication, but not by way of Constraint and Deposition of Sovereigns; that the Decrees of Popes, wherein Sovereigns who don't Exterminate Hereticks, are Excommunicated, have no more Authority, than the Decrees of Boniface VIII. and other Conftitutions of Ambitious and Usurping Popes; that the Examples of Emperors M 4

and Princes Excommunicated and Depofed by Popes, are facts which can't prove a Right lawfully acquired. And fo this Work ended in submitting all these Propositions, to the Judgment of the Church.

Edmund Richer had composed this Book

Richer's Te-Stament at the end of the 2d Vol. of bis Works.

at the Entreaty of the chief President Verdun. He put it into the Press after the Sentence made betwixt the University of Paris, and the Jesuits. As soon as this Book appear'd, Duval and other Doctors of the Popes Faction excited by the

Nuncio, made a fearful noise; they got at first too strong and numerous a Cabal, for having the Work to be censur'd at Sorbonne. Ubaldini's Auditor and Forgemont,

Mercure went from Door to Door to Sollicite the Censure: When the Parlement had cognisance of it, they sent for Richer and

Forgemont: The first was Reprimanded, for that he had publish't his Book without permission, and any Precedent Examination according to the Statutes.

other Doctor was much blam'd, because he was in League with a Foreigner, to procure by extraordinary ways an Af-

fembly of the faculty at Paris, which was to Deliberate upon a Work, where the Author treated of many Important Questions, touching the Rights and Li-

berties of the Gallican Church. The Parlement put forth another Act, to prohibit the Faculty from proceeding to the

Examination of Richer's Book, and to order.

Francois, 1612.

order, that all the Copies should be carried to the Registry of Parlement. The most Prudent and most Apprehensive Doctors declared themselves for Richer, but Duval and some hot Spirited Men, penn'd bloody Books against him. The outcry The Cardinal Perron, and was fo furious, as they threatned him with the Biflops of nothing less than Transportation to Rome, the Province and fending of him to the Inquisition, to of Sens, conbe burn't there afterwards. The greatest demn Riand most dangerous Enemy of Richer, an Assembly. was Cardinal Perron, push't on by the Cardinal Gonzaga, and the Nuncio Ubaldini: Perron had the Malice to fay in the Queen's Council, that he had been a long time heretofore in the party of the League, that he did not fet the Council above the Pope, but because he supposed that the States General are above Kings; Laftly, that he had it in his Eye, to fling at the birth of the King and his State, with the Children of Henry IV. and the Validity of the Marriage of the late King with the Queen Mother. Richer ask't leave to defend himself against the Calumnies of the Cardinal; but the Nuncio made fo great a noise on his fide, as so just a Request could not be granted him. Ubaldini even threatned to depart presently from Paris, without taking his leave of the King. The Cardinal de Bonzi declar'd one day to Richer from the Chancellor Sileri, that he should be taken into Custody, if he answer'd any of the Libels which his Adversaries publish't against

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him.

1612:

him. How! faid Bonzi, The King and Queen his Mother, know how to deal with the little Republick of Geneva. And why will you say, can't their Majesties as well keep the Pope in awe, who, is otherwise more powerful than the Seignory of Geneva? Besides that his Spiritual Dominion extends over all the World, he is Sovereign of many Provinces in Italy. T'was thus, that the Grandees imagined their Elevation gave them right to pay others with most ex-

travagant Answers.

The Enemies of Richer feeing there was nothing to do in the Sorbonne, by reafon of the Parlement, they fought some other Means to stain the Reputation of this good Man. Cardinal du Perron was to hold an Affembly at Paris, confifting of the Bishops of the Province of Sens, of which he's the Metropolitan, for to depute at a General Assembly of the Clergy, to be held in the Month of May, and to Nominate an Agent of the Clergy. An occasion was taken to present Richer's Book to this fort of Provincial Council. The President fail'd not to have it condemn'd there, as containing many false Propositions Erroneous, Scandalous, Schismatical and Heretical, without touching however, said they, the Rights of the King and Crown of France, or the Rights, Immunities and Liberties of the Gallican Church! Never was there a more Irregular Cenfure than this. The Prelates had not power to Affemble, but upon some cerrain

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tain Temporal Affairs of the Clergy of their Province; The pretended Cardinal's Council was not therefore call'd according to the rightful Form. Of eight Bishops who compos'd it, five Signed the Condemnation, without having been prefent at the Examination of the Book: One might have been furpriz'd, to find there the Name of Gabriel de l'Aubefpine, Bishop of Orleans, well known by his Books, wherein he endeavours to clear some curious Passages of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, if one did not otherwise know, that this Prelate was a Courtier, who led a Disorderly Life. The Bishop of Orleans, they were won't to fay in those days, is writing for the Church, when he hath no

more Money to game withal.

The Parlement having taken in hand the Affair of Richer's Book, the Bishops of the Province of Sens could not pronounce upon it without encroaching upon the King and Parlement's Authority. They ought to fend for the Author, and hear his Defence. At last the Cardinals condemn'd, and absolv'd at the same time. All the Propositions pretended to be erroneous and heretical in Richer's Book, respected the Rights of the King, and Liberties of the Gallican Church; and this was the reason why the Fathers of the Council would not meddle: 'Twas expected from their Knowledge and Equity, that they would have declared to the Publick, Richer's Herefies, which have no Rela1612. Relation to the Rights of the Crown, and Privileges of the Gallican Church. Gondi Bishop of Paris, having caused to be publish't in all his Parishes the Decree of the Council, where he was present, Richer appealed as from an Abuse. He presented a Relief of Appeal to be Sealed, but they refused him the Letters he askt for, without any regard to the good Reasons he alledg'd, in offering to justifie himself: The Cabal was fo strong, as the Parlement dared not receive the Petition which Richer had presented, to demand from the Court, that they would be pleased to order his Letters of Relief should be Sealed. Perron was too subtile to suffer. that the Decree of his Provincial Council should be examin'd in Parlement. Advocate General would not have fail'd to prove to the Cardinal, that t'was himfelf who was downright ignorant, or at

Recher is de-Sindic or Head hip of Paris.

Injustice was push't to the utmost avested of his gainst poor Richer. Some Months after Harlai de Chanvalon, Abbot of St. Victor at the Doctors of Paris, a Man, who according to the Nathe faculty of ture of his Family, declared for or against the Court of Rome, as the Court of France would have it; the Abbot Chanvalon, I fay, propos'd in an Assembly of the Faculty of Paris, that another Syndic might be chosen in the room of Richer. Dr. modeftly opposeth this last Effort of his Enemies. The Faculty was divided. Duval

leaft a Malicious Accuser, and Cowardly

Flatterer of the Pope.

Duval was at the Head of 43 cowardly Doctors or Ignoramus's, who upheld the Abbot's Proposal. 25 Doctors of clearer Judgment, and no less fearful, declared for Richer. The Division in the Sorbonne was fo great, as the Queen and Parlement made a Prohibition, that the Faculty might not proceed to the Election of a New Syndic: But Perron the Nuncio, and other Creatures of the Pope's, flickled fo mightily, as norwithstanding all the just Oppositions of Richer and his Friends, the King fent an express Command to the Faculty, to choose a new Syndic. They must obey. Richer protested openly, that he would die in the Communion of the Roman Church; that he was a good Servant to the King and Queen; that he would ever defend without Stubbornness and Ambition, the ancient Doctrine of the Schools at Paris; that he believ'd he ought to oppose the Pernicious and Detestable Doctrine, which was Artificially infinuated. viz. That it is lawful to Depose Kings, and kill Tyrants: Laftly, that he submitted his Book to the Censure of the Church, and the Faculty of Paris, and his strongest Passion was to see it examin'd by equitable and difinteres't Judg-What remains to us of Richer, proves, that he fuffer'd with much Moderation and Patience, the Injustice done to him. Filefac was chosen to Succeed him in the Syndicate.

Amongst all these Troubles, the Queen Regent diverted her self more than Religion or Decency, in the second year of her Mourning would allow of; the Mourn'd not the Tragical Death of the Deceased King, but for meer fashion sake. Nothing, said Mary de Medicis to the Prefident Jeannin, whose Son had been Murder'd, Nothing hath so much appear'd my Sorrows after the Death of the King, as the Affairs of the Regency. Her Majesty might have faid with more Reality, if the had The Dukes said, as to see my self Mistress. de Vendolme and de Cheureule were with Memoires de Bassompierre, to dance a Ball every Sunday; sometimes at the Prince of Conti's House, sometimes at the Dutchess of Guise's, because the Regent dar'd not to hold publick Affemblies in the Louvre. The double Marriage being solemnly declar'd the 25th of March by the Chancellor, in presence of their Majesties, the Prince of Conti, the Peers and Officers of the Crown; the Spanish Ambassador gave his consent to it from the King his Mafter. From that time he render'd to Madam the Eldest Daughter of France, all the sameHonours which the Spaniards give their Queens: But the French Courtiers whose Demeanours are much different from those of the Spaniards, could not forbear Laughter, observing the Ceremonies, and affected Gravity of the Ambassador. Mary de Medicis had order'd a Magnificent Tournament in the Royal Square,

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for joy of the double Marriage. The three Champions were the Duke de Guife. the Duke de Nevers, and Bassompierre. The Conftable and four Marshals of France, were to be Judges. This Festival which doth not deserve a place in any serious History, cost an infinite Deal of Money. Mary spent in shews and indiscreet Liberality, the Millions which the Deceased King had spared with too much providence. The Prince of Conde and Count New Brails at Soissons, were not present at the Declara- the Court of tion of Marriage. They were retired from Court, with a Resolution not to return till after the King's Majority, and not to Sign the Contract of Marriage. The Queen, said they, is able to finish all alone, what she bath resolv'd upon, and Negotiated without our Knowledge. God Memoire forbid we should do this injury to the late recondite. King's Memory, as to confer that the word 640,641, which he hath given the Dake of Savoy, 642, &c. should not be kept, whose House bath been so many times ally'd to this of France.

Such good Sentiments would deserve praises if Princes did not ordinarily use such Pretentions, when they are acted only by meer Interest. Conde and Soiffons did not fee that the Regent was forward to grant them the Gratifications, which they were made to hope for. The Queen being strengthned with the House of Guise, and the Duke of Epernon, affured of the Constable and the Mareschals of Bouillon, and Lesdiguieres, who had been brought over Difcontented with what the two Princes had

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faid in Council, when the double Marri-1612. age was propos'd, the Queen feem'd not to be any more concern'd for the Princes of the Blood. The Conftable only endeavour'd to serve them, by putting Mary de Medicis in fear. He oft-times represented to her, that the Civil Wars and Miseries of the precedent Reigns, had no other cause than the evil Counsel given to Catharine de Medicis, for to despise and lay afide the Princes of the Blood. They, Madam, said he, who infinuate into you the same Methods, think more of Establishing their Fortunes and Reputation, than the good of the State: If your Majesty gives ear to them, I foresee that Trouble and Confusion will speedily follow. The Advice of the Constable allyed to the Princes of the Blood, and Enemy to the House of Guise, was look't upon as Partial; the Regent gave o Attention to it, but at the last push. The Guises and the Duke of Epernon Triumph'd, while the Prince of Conde and Soissons were absent. The House of Guise had taken care to order the Tournament. Under pretext of contributing to the Queen's Diversion, they became more powerful than ever. Some Satyrical Wits faid. that she lookt upon the Chevalier de Guise with too favourable an Eye: He ordinarily waited on her at Table, when the Princess de Conti, or the Dutchess de Guise regaled her Majesty. Mary seem'd very much content to look near the fine Hand of the Chevalier, which he himself affected to shew. The Marquess d'Ancre, who

all of this House, and the Duke of Epernon hated, could not endure the great favour shew'd the Guises and their Ally. The Ministers of State were much alarm'd at it. They thought to pluck down the pride of these two Ambitious Houses. Conchini was so much the more disquieted, for that the Queen was angry with him. Mary raised him up to this Greatness, but in consideration of his Wife; and the Marquess did not live kindly with her. His anger at home proceeded fometimes fo far, as he talk't of leaving the Court: They quarrelled lately at Table with fo much heat, as they threw Plates at one another's Head; The Regent upheld the Marchioness: The Guises and the Ministers of State who lov'd not Conchini, took Goligai's part, and bemoaned her, to Exasperate farther the Queen against her Husband. All this set Conchini forward o fide with the Princes of the Blood, who had a mind to humble the Guises and Eperon, and who pretended to drive away rom Court, the Ministers of State. Conhini had a mind, especially to do this good urn for the Chancellor. He was busied o obtain for Dole his Creature, and his ntimate Friend, the Office of Attorney General at the Parlement of Paris, vaant by the Death of De la Guesle; but ileri had procured it for Belieure, Allied the Chancellor's House. To revenge imself of this Affront, Conchini took a esolution to get the Seals taken away from

1612. from Sileri, and to cause them to be given to Dole.

The Duke of Mayenne is fent to Spain, to make a demand of the Infanta in the King's Name.

In the mean time the Affair of the double Marriage was to be made an end of, and Dispatches given to the Duke of Mayenne, which were necessary for to demand the Infanta Ann, in the King's Name. The Presence and express consent of all the Princes of the Blood, were of the

greatest importance upon this occasion.
The Ministers of State employ'd divers
Persons to Negotiate the return of the
Prince of Conde and Count Soissons: But
the Uncle and Nephew would not hearken to the Ministers, whom they had
Memoires de undertaken to ruine. The Marquess de

Memoires de la Regence de Marie de medicis.

the Uncle and Nephew would not hear ken to the Ministers, whom they had Ancre, who had need of the Princes for his own ends, willingly took upon him the Office of going to invite both of them to come to Court. All confiderations were promis't, which were due to their Birth Soiffons suffer'd himself to be Lured, the hopes of being Governor of Quille bouf in Normandy. After this it was no hard to persuade Conde. The two Prin ces at first went to Paris, accompanie with 500 Horsemen. The Regent seems to be afraid of this, but the recovere her Spirits. They came in few days at ter to Fontainbleau, where the Coun pass't away the Spring.

The Count de Soissons Friends comfell'd him to refuse his consent to the double Marriage, till he was more assured what he was to hope for, and hinder the

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Prince of Conde from giving his; but the 1612: Mareschal Lesdiguieres always deceived by the hopes of having made good in Parlement his Brief, to be made Duke and Peer, though the Court had amus'd him for more than Six Months; Lefdiguieres, I say, persuaded the Count of Soissons to do what the Regent would have him do. The double Match having been then proposed in Council with the Envoy of the Duke of Mayenne and de Puisieux Secretary of State, and Son to the Chancellor; the Bufiness came to a conclusion, without any one's opposing of it: Moreover the Procuration and Inftructions prepared for the Duke of Mayenne were read, who immediately fet out on his Journey with Puiseux. The Duke de Pastrana came on his side into France, to demand from the King and Prince of Spain, Madam Elizabeth, the Eldeft Daughter of France.

The year 1612, was stilled the year of Matthias Magnificences, by reason of the Festivals King of Hungary and Shews set up in France, Spain, and Bohemia, Naples, for the Publication of the double is chosen Em-Marriage betwixt the two Crowns; and peror after the Marriage betwixt the Election of Matthias dolphus the King of Hungary and Bohemia, who was Second. Proclaim'd and Crown'd Emperor at Francfort. Rodolph the Second his Brother, died at Prague in the beginning of this year, of a Distemper in his Legs. T'was in the 601b year of his Age, and 23d of his Reign. A Prince whom one might

1612. Mercure Francois, 1611.

might judge would Govern well, if he never had arrived to the Sovereign power. After his Death, the Duke of Neubourg contended for the Vicegerency of the Empire, with the Duke de Deux-Ponts, as he had already contested the Administration of the Balarinate, and the Tutelage of the young Elector. The two Dukes sent their Letters Patents into the Provinces of the Vicariat Palatine, as the Elector of Saxony had fent into his Vicariat for to Exhort all the People to remain Peaceable, and feek for Redress before the Vicegerent of the Empire in all Affairs which are needful, till the approaching Election. But the Duke de Deux-Ponts having been received as Administrator at the Diet at Neuremberg, the preceding year, it was a great step to promote his interest. He was present in the same Quality at the Election of the New Emperor, and there gave his Vote.

The Elector of Mentz according to the right which the Golden Bull gives him, had convok't a Diet at Francfort, to be on the 24th of May. Ferdinand of Bavaria New Elector of Cologne, fince the Death of Ernest his Kinsman, arriv'd in the Month of February, whom he Succeeded in full Right, in Quality of Coadjutor nominated. The Archbishop of Treves, and John George Duke of Saxony render'd themselves there. John Sigismond Marques of Brandenburg, sent thither his Em-

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pa di bassador to stand in his place. Matthias 1612. came the laft, as King of Bohemia, accompanied with the Queen his Spoule, and follow'd by 3000 Persons. He had ask't leave of the Electoral College, to have with him a great number of Men. which the Golden Bull does not allow of to Electors in the like occasion. They held their first Meeting in the Town-Hall at Francfort. They observed there all the Formalities which were to precede the Election. The 13th of June the Electors went to St. Bartholomew's Church. After they had taken the usual Oath, they went into the Imperial Chamber, and Matthias II. King of Hungary and Bobemia, and Arch-Duke of Austria was Elected and Proclaimed Emperor. is not a place to give a Description in of all the Ceremonies, which are practis'd on this occasion. The Concourse of the Princes and Nobility of Germany, makes the finest Sight: Besides the Princes of Sovereign Houses, who came in crouds to Francfort: Besides the Barons, which the Emperor and the Electors had in their Train, there were counted Ninety others who paid their Devoirs to Matthias.

He was Crown'd the 24th of June, with the usual Pomp. The Oath cannot but be approved of, which they made him take, viz. to be a Defender and Protector of the Church in General, and in particular, to govern the Empire according to the Justice of his Predecessors;

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to preserve carefully all the Rights of it, to defend the Poor, the Rich, Widows and Orphans; Laftly, to submit himself, and obey Fesus Christ. But is not this the greatest Indignity in the World, that they should put into this Oath the Roman High-Prieft, immediately after the Saviour of the World? The Emperor promifes to obey God, and the Pope alike. Strange blindness of Princes, who will not know the Spirit of the Religion they fwear to maintain! Let the Bishop of Rome be Sovereign of the same Provinces in Italy; t'is a grand abuse in Religion: But the Emperors and Kings engage to obey him, this is an entire overthrow of the Gospel. They were wont heretofore to fay, that the Church is in the Empire; The primitive Christians, did they pretend the Empire to be in the Church? She ought to obey God and Sovereigns; but Emperors and Kings have none but God above them. Thus they thought in the primitive Ages: All the World would think still the same, if Sovereigns would be instructed in their true Interests, and those of the Religion they profess. By giving great Riches and Principalities to the Clergy, they have given them wherewith they may degrade their Benefactors. Matthias having wisht the Empress his Spoule was Crown'd, the Ceremony was perform'd two days after.

Leonard Donato, Doge of Venice, died almost at the same time. Antony Memmi Antony was Elected in his place the 24th of July, Memmi cheand Crown'd the next Morning. The venice of Dogate of Donato, was famous for the the Death of Contest of the Republick with Pope Paul Leonard V. who interdicted all the Country of the Seigniory of Venice. The Doge and Senate feem'd at first willing to defend-courageously the lawful Authority of Sovereigns, but when they were come to treat of this with the Pope, the Venetians Degenerated from the Vigour and Stedfastness of their Ancestors, upon the like occasions. They yielded cowardly to almost all the Articles, which the Court of Rome required from them, except the Reeftablishment of the Jesuits, who had been gone after the Fulmination of the Interdiction. The Society had done much more Mischief in France, than at Venice. In the mean time being extreamly content to see themselves deliver'd from the good Fathers, these Wise Senators Resisted a longer time, than France, the Solicitations of the Court of Rome, for the Reestablishment of their Society. During this quarrel with the Pope; the Seigniory had forbid the Subjects of the Republick, under pain of perpetual Banishment, to have any Commerce with the Jesuits, or send their Children to studie in their Colleges. The Mercure same Act was this year renew'd, upon Francois the account of a Woman of Breffe, who 1612. Was gone to Castilione to live there, under

the direction of the good Fathers. They had Establish't there, I can't tell what College of Women, and a great many Maids had put themselves into it. The Brissan Lady sold the Estate she had in the States of the Republick, to Augment this New Foundation; but the Senate endeavour'd to stop the Money that arose from the Altenation, and caused the Venetian Dames to be recall'd, that might have put themselves under the conduct of the Society into the College of Castiglione.

The Mareschal d'Bouillon's Embassy to England.

Siri Memoire recondite. Tom. II. p. 684, 685, 686.

The Mareschal Bouillon was gone extraordinary Ambassador into England, and this was to impart to King Fames the double Marriage, and so dissipate all Suspicions and Jealousies, which this double Alliance might create in his Majefty: Bouillon had a particular design in this Voyage. He was minded to Negotiate a Marriage of the young Elector Palatine, Nephew of the Mareschal's Lady who was of the House of Orange, with the Princess of England. Mary of Medicis, whom the · Court of Rome always made use of for it's own ends, had recommended to her Ambaffador, that he should complain to the King of great Britain, for that he had enter'd into a League with the Protestant Princes of Germany, against the Roman Religion, and to defire his Britannick Majesty to moderate, the Rigor of the Laws against the English, who were of the Popish Communion. Mareschal had besides express Order, to caule

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cause King James to Disapprove of the Demeanour of the Reform'd of France, in their last Assembly at Saumur; but especially to bid him beware of the Duke of Rohan, who was the most Zealous of the Protestant Lords. Bouillon had already done to Rohan, such ill Offices with the Queen of France, as he himself was enough dispos'd, not to be more favourable to the Duke in the English Court.

King James was eafily made to believe, that France thought of nothing but the General good of Christianity, by making this double Allyance with Spain, and that the Regent would not less preserve the Amity of Princes and the States Protestants. Bouillon endeavour'd at last to make his Majesty understand, that the Pope would not use violent means against the Protestants, and that he intended only to Convert them by Preachments, and the good Examples of the Clergy. The Mareschal laid hold on this occasion, to infinuate into the King the Regent's Complaints, for that he had enter'd into the Protestant League of Germany, and the entreaty that Mary of Medicis made him in favour of the English Papitts. I don't know whether this good Prince was enclin'd to believe what the Ambassador had told him, concerning the good Intentions of the Pope. ever the Matter was, James answer'd, that the Protestants lookt only to the Reciprocal Defence of the States of the N Confe1612. Confederate Princes, and that Religion was not concern'd in it. As to the English, who were of the Roman Communion, his Majesty protested, he willingly would let them be at Rest, as soon as they could give certain Assurances of their Fidelity and Obedience. Bouillon sent this into France, and then Villeroy imparted it to the Nuncio, as a great Secret. The Regent press'd Ubaldini to make his Master acquainted of it, Subjoyning, that she would write of it to Breves her Ambassador, to the end his Holiness might find some Expedient to content the King of Great Britain.

Memoires de la Regence, de Mary de Medicis.

When they came to speak touching the Matters of the Reformed Churches in France, James was not altogether fo Tra-The Duke de Roban held a great Correspondence with Henry, the King's Eldest Son. This was a very hopeful Prince; he shew'd a Zeal little common to Persons of his Age, for the good of the Protestant Religion. Never did the Roman People so much love Germanicus, as the English lov'd this Prince of Wales; and the Father perhaps was not much less jealous of the Applauses they gave his Son, than Tiberius was of old jealous of the Reputation of him whom Augustus made him adopt. Roban had gain'd over a Gentleman of the Ambaffador's Retinue. This secret Friend of the Duke, was to instruct his Britannique Majesty with the truth of all, which pass't in France: Infomuch

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much as the King was well prepared, ni- whenever he was spoke to concerning the aly Assembly at Saumur. If the Queen your as Mistress, reply'd he, to Bouillon, will break eir Ads agreed to the Protestants of ber Realm, ent I don't pretend, that the Alliance I have m- made and confirm'd with France, ought to be- binder me from succouring and protesting to them; When my Neighbours are Attack't in b- a Quarrel that respects me, Natural Law to requires, that I should prevent the Mischief . his which may arise from thence. Believe me. Monsieur Mareschal, said the King; you must be Reconciled to the Duke of Rohan, I will let him know, 'tis my desire that you live friendly together. Would to God King James and his Children had always preserv'd Sentiments so just and necesfary for the good of England, and the Reformation; Lewis the XIII. or his Son. had never dared to oppress so many innocent Frenchmen. The Mareschal Bouillon, who was minded to be fair with the King, did not infift further upon the Af-fembly at Saumur. The ill success of his Negotiation upon this point, brought him to Discredit with the Queens Ministers of State. They publish'r, that Bouillon had neither follow'd the Intentions or Orders of her Majesty. The Mareschal complain'd on his fide, that he was not well dealt withal, he pretended that they had a mind to Affront him.

Lesdiguieres was not more content with

was that there was an underhand dealing

betwixt the Queen and the Parlement, or

that this Affembly really believed, that

ed them the same distinction; that the Duke of Rohannez had a Brief from the Deceased King, which promised him, that no other should be received in Parlement before him. At last, that in a time of Minority, t'was dangerous to discontent the most Illustrious and most Ancient Houses of the Realm, for to pleasure an Upstart.

16.12. The Mareschal the Ministers, than Bouillon. Whether it de Lesdiguieres u aifcontented.

> the prime Dignities ought not to be given to Protestants, never could Lesdiguieres bring it so about, as to have his Brief of Duke and Peer approv'd of. They reprefented to the Queen, that Briffac and Fervaques, ancienter Mareschals of France than Lesdiguieres, would have reason to complain, if they had not likewise grant-

Siri Memorie recordise. Tom. II. p. £96.

Notwithstanding these Remonstrances, the Queen sent the Orders of her Son for paffing his Brief, Lesdiguieres could not yet obtain it, when the Chambers were Memoires de met to deliberate upon this Affair. Suffrages were twice divided; and the Queen who had compass't what she expected from the Mareschal, would not use all her Authority, under pretence that Prudence did not permit her to provoke the Parlement in the present juncture of Affairs. Lesdiguieres vext to see himself play'd upon, joyn'd himself to the Princes

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la Regence.

ces of the Blood and others, who had a 1612.

mind to ruine the Ministers of State.

Conchini Reconciled to his Wife, made Mary of Meuse (the most Artificially t'was possible dicis brings for him) of the Prince of Conde and Duke deGui-Count Soiffons, in order to diminish theses, and de great Authority which the Dukes of Guife Epernons and Epernon had taken. C.efar Duke de Vendofme, was joyn'd with them to the good liking of the Queen; but this declared Union drew upon him fuch troubles, as he did not expect. As there was need of the presence of the Princes of the Blood, to make an end of the Marriage with the Duke of Pastrana, whom the King of Spain had fent for this purpose; the Queen endeavour'd to content them, by bringing down their opposite Party. Vendosme defired to go and hold the States of Britanny, whereof he was Governor. The Princes of the Blood, to punish him for having been in League with the ancient Enemies of his Father, and the House of Bourbon, told the Queen in private, that Casar might be able easily to make a Party in a Province fo far diftant; where he had great Reputation and Estate by his Wife, Heirels of the House of Mercaur. Conchini and the Ministers, made these Reasons of State prevail with When the Duke then Mary de Medicis. of Vendosme came to ask of her leave to go and prefide over the Estates of Britanny, her Majesty flatly refus'd it him. The Mareschal de Briffac Lieutenant General

of the Province, who had been employ'd to do Cafar this Injury with the Queen, had this Important Commission bestow'd on The Duke of Vendosme was so outragiously angry at the Refusal, that he challenged the Mareschal, young Gentleman's outrageous Heat. greatly displeas'd the Queen: She without tarrying till Cafar and Briffac were Friends, order'd the former to remove from Court, and go to his House at Anet. The other went afterwards on his Journey for Britanny, in spight of all the Endeavours and Intrigues of the Dukes of Guise, Vendosine and Epernon, who were extreamly netled at the Repulses and difagreeable Words, which they receiv'd upon this Occasion from the Queen Rogent.

The Count de Soiffons wadertakes to THIN the pub. of State.

This Mortification of the Guise's and Duke of Epernon, rejoyc't the Count of Soifons; but his Revengeful Humour was hek Minifers not as yet satisfied : He plotted in his Head to ruin the Ministers, but especially the Chancellor Sileri. Soiffon's Hatred against them was so much the more lively and viscoous, for that he thought Sileri, Villeroy and Jeannin, hinder'd the Queen from granting what she had given him ground to hope for. The Prince of Conde was as much impatient of the Coun delays, as his Uncle; they both fear'd,

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Memoires de lest the Ministers should Mortifie, and bring down the Princes of the Blood, as la Regence de Marie de well as the Dukes of Guise and Epernon, for

for to keep up their Credit with the two opposite Parties. The Marquess de Ancre craftily Discours't the Prince of Conde and Count Soissons upon this opinion. The Queen, faid he to them, bath good Intentions for the Princes of the Blood. She would give you both Satisfaction, if the Ministers did not constantly Represent to her, that t'was dangerous you should be too powerful in two Provinces, so considerable as Normandy and Guienne are. This is the reason why the Queen defers so long, to give the Governments of Chateau-Trompette to Monsieur the Prince, Quillebeuf to Monseur the Count: From the first day of the Regency, the Ambitious Conchini had taken a defign to alter all things at Court, to remove the Ministers of the deceased King, and put into their places, Persons who should entirely depend upon him. The present Conjuncture of time appear'd favourable to the Marquess d'Ancre, for putting in execution the Project he had contrived.

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One day being with the Prince of Con- He undertaltede, the Count of Soiffons and the Maref- toput agrand chals Bouillon and Lesdiguieres, he caused affront on the them to agree to work out joyntly the leri. entire ruin of the Ministers. The Count de Soiffons promis't them at his return from a small Journy, he was to make into Normandy, he would deal with the Chancellor Sileri, after a very Outrageous manner. Lesdiguieres, who discontent return'd into Dauphiny, promised to give

the Princes Succors, and to bring 'em in case of necessity 10000 Foot, and 500 Horse, even to the Gates of Paris. Duke of Savoy secretly enter'd into all these Intrigues; he entertain'd a Secret Correspondence with the Count de Soiffons. The defire he had to be Revenged of the Queen Regent, who gave to the Prince of Spain, the Eldest Daughter of France, promised to the Prince of Piedmont, the hopes to make Advantages of the broils of France, and to retake what Henry the IV. had forc't him to give, in exchange for the Marquisate of Saluces; all these Motives spurr'd on Charles Emanuel, to omit nothing of what ever was capable to kindle a Civil War in France by means of the Princes of the Blood, or at least by the Huguenot Party. And for this reason, he constantly Negotiated fometimes with the Count of Soiffons, fometimes with Mareschal Lesdiguiers, He renewed his Intrigues, according as he faw one or other Diffatisfied with the Court.

The Marquess de Couvres divers the count de Soissons from fisch a Design.

The Prince of Conde and others, had made Count Soissons promise to say nothing to the Marquess de Cœuvres, his intimate Friend, of the Complot against the Chancellor. They foresaw that Cœuvres being used to stop the Count when his Choler had carried him too sar, he would not fail to Represent to Soissons, that it was unworthy of a Prince of the Blood, to be Outragious against the chief Magistrate

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giftrate of the Realm. The thing happen'd, as they had guess't it. The Count de Soissons could not keep the Secret : He discover'd it to the Marquess de Cauvres, who shew'd him the troublesom Consequences of such like undertakings. But the Subject Matter, was, how to Difingage the Count from his Word, which he had given to others. Cauvres luckily found out a way. The difference that Soissons had in his Journy to Normandy with the Mareschal de Fervacques, on the occasion of the Garrison of Quillebeuf, which Fervacques had reinforc't unknown to the Count, this Difference, I say, occasion'd the Marquels de Cauvres to go several times into Normandy, and to come back again to Court, to give some satisfaction to the Count de Soissons, who complain'd aloud of the Mareschal Fervacques.

Conchini impatient that Soissons did not return time enough to work the ruine of the Chancellor, told himself to the Marquess de Cœuvres at the Mareschal Bouillons House, in the presence of the Prince of Conde, Harlai of Beaumont and Dolé, the Reasons there were to hasten the Count of Soissons to return. Cœuvres fain'd not to know any thing of a Plot amongst them against the Chancellor. When they had discover'd it plainly to him, he so lively represented the Indignity of the Action, as they were ashamed of it. If you have wherewithal to prove, said he, that the Chancellor hath not done his Duty, is it not

a more honest and furer way to inform the Queen of it, and perswade her Majesty to take the Seals from him, than to outrage unworthily the Chief Justiciary? So great a Violence offer'd, will not fail to pluck more upon your own Heads. Who hereafter will succeed Sileri, when he sees he can't exercife the Office with Security, which oftimes exposeth him who is possest of t, to discontent Princes and Grandees, in obeying the King's Orders? The Mareschal de Bouillon was the first who yielded to the Remonstrances of Couvres. These Reasons, faid he, have so much the more reason in them to be received; for that the Marquess generously alledgeth them in favour of one, of whom he hath cause to complain. T'was not then farther thought upon, to put any fuch bloody Indignity on the Chancellor, ev'ry one then took only Measures to destroy his Reputation he had in the Queens Breaft.

Toe Marquest W. knavery, and T. double deal-

Conchini and his Wife labour'd herein with better Success, than all the rest. This Italian was the fallest Politician in the World. At the same time he made use of the Count Saissons, to destroy the Chancellor and Ministers of State, he himself was the Person, who hinder'd the Regent from contenting the Prince, in giving of him the Government of Quillebeus. The Baron Luts Agent for the Marquess d'Ancre, Sollicited in his behalf the Duke of Guise to declare for the Queen, and uphold the Resusal, which she design'd to give

give the Count of Soissons. Guise was so adverse to this perfidious dealing of Conchini, as he gave notice of it to Soiffons. The House of Guise, the Cardinal Joyeuse and Bellegarde, Master of the Horse, diffatisfied at what Mary de Medicis had done to the Duke of Vendofme, fought to reunite themselves with the Princes of the Blood, against the Marquess d'Ancre. Only the Duke of Epernon neglected to enter into this new Treaty; whether it was that his Pride hinder'd him from Courting the Princes of the Blood, to confirm his reeling Credit, or that the Rheumatism which then afflicted him, would not give him opportunity to think of Court Intrigues. There was in Guise's Party a pack of French Lords, who were not much better, and perhaps worse than the Marquels d'Ancre. Twas generally believ'd, that Bellegarde Persons fat had this year Suborned some Persons to orn'd to acaccuse Conchini, that he had of a long case him of time us'd some Love-spells, by means of Wilcherafa. a Looking-Glass. This Affair much Alarm'd the Marquels d' Ancre. He believ'd himself now so near his Ruin, as he try'd to make the Duke of Mayenne his Friend to return to Court, who was now at the Foot of the Pirenees to go into Spain. Conchini intended to ferve his Occasions with him and the Count of Soiffons, against his Enemies: But he found out a means to rid himself of the Intrigue, without the Duke of Mayenne's Affiftance. casion ferv'd him likewife to do the Chancellor :

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cellor ill Offices with the Queen. He 1612. had got some Commissions to Seal, in order to have his Accuser Examin'd. Sileri who did not love the Marquels & Ancre, but favour'd his Enemies, made some Scruples of putting the Seals t'em. Conchini complain'd of this to the Queen, who from that time began to shew to the Chancellor some Displeasure. The Evil Counsels which the Queen

Affairs of the Duke of Rohan at S lean d'Angeli's.

Regent hearken'd to, caus'd her troubles on all fides with the Princes of the Blood, with the Grandees, with the Parlement, and at the end with the Reformed Protestants. The Division amongst the principal Persons of this Communion, afforded Mary de Medicis and her Ministers. the means of undertaking certain things against the Edict, which never would have been thought on, if two Men capable to maintain their Religion against the whole World, had liv'd in good Intelligence amongst themselves, and acted Memoires du Unanimoussy. I speak of the Mareschal Bouillon, and the Duke of Roban. first serv'd himself with the Queen's Ear. to ruine the other in the good Apprehenfrons the might have of him. What pass't in the Affembly at Saumur, exasperated so much the Mareschal against the Duke, that Bouillon undertook to throw out Roban from the Government of St. John d'

> Angeli, which the Deceased King had beflow'd upon him: The Duke de Roban being well advis'd of the evil Offices that

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Duc de Ro-Sohan Livre I. Vie du Pletha Merna Livre MI.

were constantly done him at Court, went to justifie himself. After having reprefented to the Regent, that he had behav'd as a good Man in the Affembly at Saumur. I confess to you, Madam, said the Duke, that I oppos'd the Designs of Monsieur de Bouillon: But this was done but in order to give your Majesty fresh Tokens of my Fidelity and Zeal, which I have for your Service. I Distrust those Persons who turn Scales, and pay their Services on both Sides: 'Tis feldom known, that fuch Men are upright in their Intentions. If Monsieur Bouillon had brought his Defigns about in our Assembly at Saumur, he might have understood how to have used them, and prevailed even against your self. When Monsieur Bouillon comes to be the Master amongst us, your Authority shall be never the better Established in this Realm.

The Duke of Roban upon this occasion, prov'd the Truth of a Reflection which he himself made, viz. That a Prince who hath a prejudicate Opinion, is hard to be perswaded. The Regent gave no Attention to these Remonstrances. time now of the Election of the Mayor of St. John of Angeli was near. a thing of the greatest Importance that could be to the Duke of Roban, that he who was in the place might not be continued. The adverse Party to the Governor, had got over this Man to their fide; and if their Project had succeeded, the Duke had loft all his Authority in the

the place: Feigning then that his Brother was dangerously fick, he took a Journey fuddenly from Paris. Roban took soubize in his way, and they both got to St. John d'Angeli. The day of Election being come, a Letter under the King's Privy Seal was produc't, that the Ancient Major should continue; this not being to be any Rule for the future, and to be without prejudice to the Privileges of The Duke de Roban the Inhabitants. Remonstrated, that her Majesty had been ill inform'd of the State of the City, where there was not any thing at all of Divifion, as the Letter under the King's Privy Seal had suppos'd, and that they might proceed to a new Election, according to the accustom'd Form; I hope said he; I shall bring her Majesty to agree to it : To this effect I send my Secretary to Court.

The Mareschal Bouillon flatter'd himself, that the Duke of Roban would infallibly lose himself, whatever Party he would take, in an Affair that was so ticklish for him to manage : If Roban fuffers the former Major to be continued, they wou'd ftrip him of all his Authority, and if he oppos'd the Court's Orders, this would find it felf in a necessity of punishing a Man who neglected to observe the Authority of the King : To engage the Queen after fuch a manner, as the thould not flinch back for the future; the Mareschal perswaded her to fend a more express Order for to contitinue the old Major. But the Duke of Roban

Roban being perswaded, that if he loft 1612. the Government, he himself was loft without any Redemption; believ'd, that he ought not to obey the Orders which the Queen had fent, as being Surprised unwarily by his Enemies: A New Major was chosen; that is to say, three Persons were Nominated, whose Names were fent to the Court, to the end her Majesty might pitch upon one whom she judg'd most proper for the place: Whilst they were expecting an Answer from the Regent, the Keys of the Town were put into the Hands of the Eldest Alderman. and thus the Duke of Roban made himfelf Master of the Town; from whence he caus'd some Subaltern Officers to be put out, who were against him.

This bold Action mightily stir'd up the Queen against the Duke of Roban? Those whom he had fent to Court, were committed to the Bastile. T'was forbid the Dutchels his Mother, his Wife, his Sifter, to ftir out of Paris. Some Persons proposed to the Counsel, that t'was fit to go and Besiege the Duke in Sc. John d' Angeli, as a Rebel: Orders were difpatch't for raising Troops, and sending the Artillery. The Queen publish't abroad, that she would go her self in Perfon to the Army, which the Mareschal Bouillon and Lesdiguieres were to command, to make the Reformed know. that there was no point of Religion here in Question, but only a Chastisment of a

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Mercure Francois. 1612.

particular Lord, who had Revolted from his Obedience: The Duke as foon as he understood this, published a Manifesto, which he Addres't to the Reform'd Churches; he gave them notice that his Zeal for their Preservation, brought upon him this Persecution; that the loss of St. John d'Angeli drew along with it other places of Retreat and Security, and their Enemies wou'd not stop in so fair a way, after they had taken from him his Government. The Manifesto ended with a lively Exhortation; The Duke complain'd, because his Enemies had made Information of his Conduct, and that having found him irreprovable, they had inform'd against fome Gentlemen, who were not at all faulty of any other Crime, than his giving him a Visit : The Court, said he, fears that our divided Body will reunite, the Reputation Monsieur de Rohan bath acquired by his Quality and Probity, which be hath always made profession of, gives Unbrage; must they for this cause apply themselves by little and little to weaken our Party, and to undoe us by Peacemeals? Let us know our selves, if we would Live and Subfift: Let us revive the good Intelligence which was heretofore among ft us: Let us Devote our felves to the Service of our God and our King : Let us work for the Good of our Church, and the State : We were the mest judicious and considerable Party, before our Divisions at Saumur. This great Man, who knew better to Fight than to Write, not

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not standing upon Manisesto's only, prepar'd himself for a courageous Desence.

Another Manifesto was publish'd on the Queen's fide. She took great care therein to advertise the World, that her Majesty complain'd only of the Duke of Roban's Undertaking. All the French of either Religion, were exhorted in it to relieve their Majesties in the just Design they had to punish a Crime of so dangerous Confequence to the Common Good of the State. At last the Queen protested to the Reformed, that Religion not being concern'd in this Affair, the Edicts of Pacification should not be less exactly observ'd. Du Plessis Mornai was then in a great Perplexity: The Town of Saumur, of which he was Governor, was in the Queen's way in case she went to St. John d'Angeli; and Prudence required, that she would affure her self of that important Passage. Pleffis did not know which fide to take: If I fortifie my felf, faid this Judicious Gentleman, 'if I call for Succours, they will attack me under pretence of Rebel-Besides, if I don't think at all of being aware beforehand, I leave a place of Security, which I am entrusted withal, to the Discretion of our Enemies: Let's run rather the Risque of yielding to Force and Injustice, than augment the hatred they already have against our Reformation, by giving our Enemies a new Pretention of accusing us of Rebel-· lion.

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'lion. What Crime can they upbraid me withal? I don't fear their Scrutinies, or their Informations; what have they to find fault with me? I have no part in Mr. Rohan's Concerns. Set upon me for Religion! This would be to fet the whole Kingdom on Fire. Du Plessis resolv'd not to stir: He was contented to let the Ministers of State know the troublesome Consequence of the ill Counsels, which were given her Majesty, and to exhort them to let the Reformed enjoy peaceably the Repose, which the deceas'd King had granted them with so much Justice and Prudence.

It had been better to have hearkned to the good Counsels Du Plessis gave, if the Enemies which the Duke of Rohan had amongst those of his own Religion, had not obstructed it. In the mean time, whether the Regent gave any heed to what the King of England had answer'd to the Marstal Bonillon upon the Subject M. ter of the Protestants in France, or that the fear'd many Provinces declaring for the Duke of Roban, a Civil War might break out in France; her Majesty at last acknowledged, that if the Duke of Roban had withstood her Orders with too much Haughtiness, the likewise had too easily given way for the King's Authority to be There was fought then undermined. some way to accommodate Matters. Themines, Seneschal of Querci, was sent to St. John d'Angeli, to bring back the Duke.

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Du Plessis Mornai had given him wise Counsel, to yield willingly and fairly, as if the Queen was in the Right; provided he kept his Government in the same Condition as it was before. The Negotiation was set on foot on that Condition. The former Major was again put into the Exercise of his Office, and the Subaltern Officers, whom the Duke of Rohan would not suffer to be in the Town, entred there again: But in sew Days after there was a new Election, and the Regent gave other Employments to those whom the Duke did not at all approve of.

The Reformed Protestants after this held a National Synod at Privas, in Vivarets: They agreed there, That the Division of the greatest Persons of their Communion was going to make Destruction of the Reformation in France. The Synod was refolv'd to make a Reconcilement amongst them efficaciously. They wrote to Du Plessis Mornai, to join all his Earnestness and Diligence to that of the Commissaries, which the Company had nominated to agitate in this important Affair. The Marshals, Bouillon and Lesdiguieres, not content with the Court, eafily confented to the Re-union. This made them more formidable to the Regent and her Ministers. The Princes of the Blood, with whom they were lately confederated, should have had more Consideration for Persons who were capable of bringing the

The History of Book | In the Act of Reconciliation, prepard Mistory consent with Du Plessis Mornai, the Reform'd Lords mutually promis'd to forget all that had past; to love one another to give one another reciprocal Testimonies of their Amity, as far as Religion and with their bounden Faith to the King would give them leave; to labour jointly for the Advancement of God's Kingdom, and the Repose of their Brethren; to do not thing which might prejudice the Union and Conformity of the Doctrine and En Discipline establish'd in the Reformed Churches of France. The Dukes de Rohan and de Sulli, the Marshals Bauillon and Lessigners, Chatillon, Soubize, La Force, and Du Plessis Mornai, signed the Writing. They agreed surther, that the Governours of places of Security, and Genty. vernours of places of Security, and Gen-tlemen diftinguish'd in the Provinces, ow ould be ask'd to subscribe the same.

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The Protestation which the National Off
The Protestation which the Name of sen should be ask'd to subscribe the same.

Synod of Privas publish'd in the Name of all the Reformed Churches in France, made a great noise in the World. See ing here the Occasion. The Regent, in her tof here the Occasion. The Regent, in her Letter to the General Assembly at Saumur. had enjoin'd the Deputies to retire into their Provinces, and there make report of the good Intentions of her Majesty. her The Reform'd seeing at last that this Assembly was oblig'd to break up, before they had time to examine the Answer mot made to their Address of Complaints him

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wh

le and Demands, thought to remedy this de Misfortune, by convening Provincial to Misfortune. The Regent seem'd to fuffer these, by ordering the Deputies of make their Report in their Provinces. They afsembled then for this Effect; devithout that the Court could find any defining to say against them. The King's Lieutenants had themselves call'd some; and the Presidents of the Sovereign Court the Lieutenants had themselves call'd some; and the Presidents of the Sovereign Court were present at others. The Regent had her self given order to the Commissioners selfent to examin the Contravention made against the Edict of Nants, That they should repair to the Provinces, before any Assembly was held. They were present upon certain Occasions: One can't say then, that these were held without the ay then, that these were held without the Knowledge and Sufferance of her Majety. She thought that she had so fully alow'd them as her Commissioners had had Orders to affift there in Person; and her Officers, with the Magistrates, were prefent there likewise.

The Deputies of the Eight Provinces being come afterwards to Paris, with defign to finish what the Assembly at Saumur was not able to perform, and to sollicite more favourable Answers to the Remonstrance which they had presented, the Regent sound her self in a Perplexity she had not foreseen. It is to be confess'd, that the way of the Resormed upon this Occasion was not ill contriv'd. This was a Means to hinder their secret and profess'd Enemies.

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from gaining fo great Advantages from D the Separation of the Assembly of Sau-mur. There was much likelihood that in the Duke of Roban had furnished them with this Expedient for to cross the Marshal Bouillon, who had deserv'd much at be Court, by having manag'd so well Affair the Assembly at Saumur, as the Regent Court could not from thence expect a more fathe Regent and her Council at a stand; int which was as troublesom as if the Gene-ral Assembly had continued. And the Marshal Bouillon did not now seem to have reddone such great Feats. It concern'd him to save his Reputation, by seeking some Remedy for this new Inconvenience. A better could not be found out, than to fend back the Deputies of the Provinces, as being fent from People who were affembled against the King's Will, or at least with out his Permission. And for the Coun should not scruple this, by reason of the Discontentment that the refusal to hear the Deputies might raise, the Marshal Bouillon took all the Blame upon himself that might enfue.

They went yet further. The Regent had put forth a new Declaration, which forbid the Reform'd to hold for the future these Provincial Assemblies. Consistories, Colloquies, Provincial and National Synods were only allow'd them, upon Condition that none should be there besides Ministers and Elders; and that they should

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reat of nothing, but what concern'd the Doctrine and Discipline of the Reformed Churches in France. The Assemblies held fince the Separation of that at Saumar, were in very mild Terms declared un-awful: And to the end that they who had been present there might not be disquieted, the King pardoned them this pretended Crime, and forbid his Officers from pro-ecuting any of them. His Majesty supecuting any of them. His Majesty supposed they went thither with downright intentions; and that they had no Thoughts of disobeying the deceased King's Orders. The Reformed were extended furprised, they should be pardon'd a Fault, which they pretended to have in so wise committed. Their Deputies General presented a Petition to the Parlements, for opposing the registring of this Declaration. They protested, that being ar from requiring any such Pardon, their Churches look'd upon it as injurious and resecting; and that none of the Reformed intended to make use of it. This Opposition stopp'd the Registring of it: But the Court having got over some of the Reform'd, under pretence, that they had need of it for their own Security, the Declaration was registred and approved of in claration was registred and approved of in forms.

This Affair made a great poile in the

This Affair made a great noise in the National Synod of Privas. 'Twas re-olv'd there, to draw up a publick and so-emn Protestation, that the Provincial As-emblies had not been held against the

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King's Will; and that the Reform'd look'd upon the Pardon, which his Majesty had granted them upon this Occasion, as a Reflection which they had not deserv'd, They declar'd at the end of the Act, that they would never make use of the Pardon, which the King pretended to grant 'em, and downright disavow'd those amongst the Protestants, who sought for it. As this caus'd great Stirs in some Provinces, for to the Court design'd to appeale them by another Declaration put forth in Form to explain the former. His Majesty acknow-Si ledg'd therein, to be very well fatisfied pu with the Fidelity and Obedience of his to Protestant Subjects; but at the bottom he de did not remedy the Mischief t'other De-claration had done. The Provincial As-similar femblies remained forbidden: And this is all that the Court now delivered In from the Deputies Sollicitations in the tended.

The Arrival of the Duke of Pastran Print at Paris was of great use to diminish the least Troubles which all these Affairs had given the Queen: He was received in all the out Towns he pass'd through, with extraordicate he nary Honours. The Dukes of Nevers and els Luxemburgh went to meet him out of the hen Gates of Paris, accompanied with four of high five hundred Horse. He made a Magni who ficent Entry: He had a splendid Equipage of the and abundance of Men in his Retinue we with ry well cloath'd. Don Francis and Da Imb Diego de Sylva his Brothers, and many o

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ther Spanish Lords were come with him. The King gave him his first Audience the 6th of August. The Princes of the Blood, the Grandees, and the Cardinals Sourdis and Bonzi, were invited to this Ceremony. These endeavour'd to be excus'd, under pretence their Dignities would not suffer them to be beneath the Princes of the Blood. Ridiculous and insupportable Pretension! These Gentlemen, to speak properly, are no better than Priests and Deacons of the particular Church of Rome: Since they have been fuffer'd infolently to put on Purple, they believe themselves not to be inferiour to crown'd Heads. Mary de Medicis, who had had a mind the Spaniards should see the Court of France in all its Splendour, wish'd that the Cardinals were present at the Audience. They were told from her, That there hould be no distinction of Places, and hat every one should fit as he came. The Princes of the Blood strait took their beats on the Right Hand of the King. The Cardinals, excluded from this place, but themselves on the side of the Queen. They did not tarry there long: The Princes Dowager of Condé wou'd not suffer them above her: and the Resent searhem above her; and the Regent fearong to cross the Princes of the Blood, not ho wou'd not fail to maintain the Right fe the Princes, let the Cardinals go out with Confusion, with their south deserved mbition.

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There was another difference, which made more noise on the King's side. The Duke de Nevers had plac'd himself on the Bench of the Princes of the Blood. The Count de Soissons, busied in speaking with the Prince of Conti, his Brother, was not aware that Nevers had feated himself immediately after him. As foon as the Prince of Condé, who fat above his two Uncles, perceiv'd it, he jogs Conti; and he did as much to Soiffons, who fail'd not to pull at the Duke of Nevers with all his strength I don't know, faid he then, why you croud me after this manner : Because this bere is none of your place, replied disdainfully the Prince of Condé. There were interchange on one fide and 'tother tharp biting Words We will explain our selves better in another place, said at last the Prince of Conde, gi ving a Wink upon him to follow him. The Marshal Bouillon run hastily to stop the Prince, who in passing by the Duke, mad him understand, that this was a Cha The Quarrel was presently mad lenge. up by Order of the King; and the Re gent blam'd the Duke of Nevers, becau he had feated himself in a Place, which was not defign'd but for the Princes of the The Guifes had no contest about their Places. The Duke and his Brothe were to go and conduct the Duke Pastrana to his Audience. After the An baffador had made his Compliments, a presented to the King and Queen his Q tholick Majesty's Letters, he was con dude

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ducted to Madam Elizabeth, defign'd for the Prince of Spain, and from thence to the Duke of Anjou's Apartment, to Salute the Prince and his other two Sifters

Daughters of France.

The 25th day of August, the Festival of Articles of St. Lewis, was appointed for Sealing the fign'd between Articles of Marriage between Madam E-the Prince of lizabeth, and the Prince of Spain. The Spain, and Duke de Pastrana and Don Innigo de Car-Eldest Daughdenas, King Philip's Ambassador in ordi-ter of France. nary into France fign'd them, as the Fathers and Sons Proxies; immediately after the King and the Queen his Mother, Madam Elizabeth, and Queen Margarite. The Nuncio and Ambassador of Tuscany, as representing the two Mediators, set their Names after those of the Princes of the Blood. Elizabeth's Dowry was 500000. Crowns in Gold. They were to be paid down the Night before the Consummation of Marriage. The Prince's renounc'd all the Rights she could pretend to in the Succession of her Father, Mother, and Brothers, without excepting the States which are not Fief-Males, into which the Daughters may Succeed. This Clause had an Eye upon the Rights in the Kingdoin of Navarre, and Principality of Bearn, which Henry the IV. held in right of his Mother. The Duke of Pastrana tarried yet some days at Paris: He was regal'd with all Divertisements possible upon such an occasion. Having got to Bourdeaux in his return to Spain, he found 0 2 there

there the Duke of Mayenne, who came back from Madrid. He had been gone thither to Sign likewise the Articles of Marriage between Lewis XIII. King of France, and Ann Infanta of Spain.

Entry of the Duke of Mayennt into Madrid.

The Duke of Mayenne had received greater Honours in Spain, than the Duke of Pastrana in France, whether it was that they had regard to his Quality, as Prince of a Sovereign House allied to the House of Austria, or that the Spaniards had an Ambition to outgoe the French in Magnificence and Galantry. He found in his way the Duke of Lerma's Man-

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French Mer- fion House. This Favourite gave Orcenary 1612. ders, that Mayenne should be splendidly regaled, and to the end, the Feast might seem more Galant, it appear'd, that all was done at the expense of the Inhabitants of Lerma, who were Ravish't with Joy, to have amongst them a Guess so honourably diftinguish't. The Duke fail'd not upon this occasion, to set out all his Sumptuous Moveables and Tapistry, the Borders of which were all Embroider'd with Gold, and richly fet out with Rubies and Emeraulds. The Duke d'Alva de l'Infantado, d'Albuquerque, the Admirant of Castile, and many other Grandees of Spain, accompanied with 500 Cavalier, whose Horses were proudly Harnas't, went to receive the Duke of Mayenne 25 without Madrid. He made a very find and Entrance: But the long and close Mourn of L ing the Ambassador wore for his Father Proz

and the Court of Spain, had put on for the Death of the Queen, render'd the Ceremony less Glorious. The 17th of July, the Duke d'Useda conducted the Ambassador to his Audience of the King. The Prince of spain stood at the left hand of his Majesty and the Duke of Lerma at the right. The Father and Son embrac'd the Embassador, when he drew near to kiss their Hands. This was a Distinction granted to the Quality of the Prince, who was of the House of Lorrain. After this, he was Conducted to the Audience of the Infanta. The Duke kisi'd her Hand; because her Highness had declar'd, the would use the Embassador, as the Queen had used one of her Subjects.

The Signing of the Articles of Marri- The Articles age, was fix't to be upon the 22d of Au- of Marriage gust. All the Court left off their Mourn- signed between ing for that day, besides the King. The Lewis the Duke of Lerma went to the Ambassador, Infanta of to Conduct him to the Palace. Neither Spain. his Majesty, or the Prince or Infanta of Spain, were present at the Ceremony of Sealing: Two Acts were prepard, one in French, and another in Spanish. The Duke of Mayenne, Puisieux Secretary of State, and Vaucelas Ambassador in ordinary at Madrid, first fign'd the French Act as Proxies for the most Christian King, and the Queen his Mother. The Duke of Lerma fign'd afterwards in quality of Proxy for the Catholick King's Father, 0 3

and Guardian of the Infanta. It was after another manner compos'd in the Spanish Act: Lerma put there his Name first. and the French after him: The Infanta renounc't for her self and Children, all the Rights of Succession to the States of the Crown of Spain. Two Cases were only excepted: That if the Infanta was a Widow without any Children, she should return into Spain; or that for reason of State, and the publick Weal of the Spanish Monarchy, she should Marry again with the consent of the King her Father, or the Prince of Spain her Brother, the shou'd in this second case re-enter into her Rights of succeeding one and th'other. After the figning of the Articles, the Duke of Mayenne was Conducted into a Hall where the King was with the Prince and Infanta at each fide of him; The Ambaffador only made a Reverence to the Father. He harangu'd chiefly the Daughter, in Quality of the Queen of France, When the Duke took his leave some days after, he entreated her to give him some Orders to the King his Master. Affure, ' him, said the Infanta, that I am very 'much impatient of feeing him. Answer did not seem grave enough to the Countels d'Altamira her Governels Ab Midam! 'cry'd the Spanish Lady; ' what will the King of France think, when ' the Duke shall report to him, you have fo great a passion for Marriage? You have taught me, answer'd the Infanta with

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with a great deal of livelinels; 'that one ' must always speak the Truth. She poor young Princess, had a heart burning for a Husband, who did not make her so hap-

py as she fancied he wou'd.

We shall see anon, the face of Affairs conspiracy &wholly altered in Italy, by the Death of gainst the Francis Duke of Mantua, which happen'd Duke of at the end of the year 1611. But before I enter into this particular, which I reserve for the following year, I think I ought to fay fomwhat of an Affair, which made a great noise in Italy in the Month of March this present year. Francis Duke of Mantua, had fome days agoe succeeded Vincent his Father, Husband of the Eldest Sister of Mary de Medicis. At this same time Ranutius Duke of Parma, discover'd a Plot laid against him for above a year fince, and against all the House of Farnese. He thought that he had sufficient Witnesses to believe, that the Deceased Duke Vincent of Mantua, the Cardinals Sforza and Este, the Prince of Modena, the Duke of Mirandola, and some other Sovereign Princes, had had a part in fo horrid a defign. Here's what is discover'd now of it. Many Gentlemen, and some Ladies of Quality of the States of the Duke of Parma, and the Neighbouring places, Conspired together to kill him, with all thuse of his House, and to possess themselves of the Towns of Parma and Placentia, which they were afterwards to deliver up to some Neighbouring Princes, from whom the

There's this difference betwixt the true Religion and Superstition, that the one Abominates the smallest Crimes, whereas the other can very well accord with the blackest Actions. The Wretches who attempted upon the Life of Henry the IV were confess't, and took the Sacrament afterwards, to prepare themselves for their barbarous Design. They who Conspir'd a little time after against Ranutius Duke of Parma, and against all the House of the Farnese's, swore by the Image of the Virgin Mary, to keep their Trust and Fidelity one to t'other, and not discover their

Enterprise.

Their first Project whereby they might bring their Defign about, was to lay hold of the Opportunity, which the Solemn Baptilm of the young Prince of Parma afforded them, where the Cardinal Farnese was to be present with the rest of the Fa-They had resolv'd to slay there Ranutius his Children, the Cardinal, and all the Persons devoted to the Farneses. The Ceremony of Baptism having been happily put off, the Conspirators notwithstanding continued their Meetings, and rook their Measures for the Execution of their Conspiracy: They had already got a great number of Men, and fome Neighbouring Princes were to furnish them with Soldiers at the appointed time. But seeing that the Ceremony of Baptism was put off toolong a time, and that the

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the Plot might be discover'd, the Conspirators took a Resolution to set up the Duke of Parma in an Abby, whither he had been retir'd to take the Air, and be devout with the Capuchins, and Affassinate him in this place. They were to come after this was done, to Parma in the Night-time, to kill the Dukes Children, and those of his House, to sack the Palace and City, and poffess themselves of the Cittadel. Another Party of the Complices were order'd to make themselves Masters, by means of some Intelligence of the City and Castle of Placentia, which they were to deliver up to the Duke of Mintua.

In all Conspiracies which require long time for Execution, and a great number of Complices, there's almost always some one found, who upon confideration reflects feriously on the Enterprize. The fear of Punishment, the hopes of being well rewarded, the Horrour likewise of the Crime, and Remorfe of Conscience, bring them to discover the Contrivance. The Duke of Parma happen'd upon some Persons of this Humour, who gave him notice of the Danger he was threatned withal. After an exact Information of all the particulars of the Conspiracy, Ranutius caused a Manifesto to be fixt up in all publick Places, which contain'd the Story of the plotted Enterprise, and the Names of the principal Complices, whom the Duke summon'd to come and justifie them-

themselves: It appear'd, that the Names of some Persons who were considerable for their Degree and Quality, were sup-Vincent Duke of Mantua some days agoe Deceased, was so well describ'd, as ev'ry one presently knew him by the Name of Chief Conspirator, which was given him. The Captain of his Guards was the fecond Man amongst the Plotters. Francis his Successor complain'd aloud, of the injury done to the Memory of his Fa-For this he demanded Reparation. This Affair was so much nois'd in Italy, insomuch that they fear'd an open breach betwixt the Duke of Parma and the Duke of Mantua. The former had his Recourse to the King of Spain for Protection, for whom the Famous Alexander of Parma, had done Signal Services. And the other, the Queen Regent of France's Nephew, implored the Succors of that Crown. Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, would invervene for an Accommodation betwixt the two Princes. But t'was strait known, that this Disquieted Spirit sought to embroil them further, and rather raile a War from whence he hop'd for an Advantage, than any ways to make an end of the Differences. The Parties agreed to refer themselves to the Arbitration of the Duke of Urbin, as to one part of the Contest. The Governor of Mila stifled the rest of this Affair in the Name of the King of Spain, and so the Prince dismiss

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dismiss't the Troops which they had raifed.

To stop the continual Complaints of A Proposal of the Duke of Savoy, the Regent fome- tween Chritimes offer'd to give Christina her second stiana tue 2d Daughter, to the Prince of Piedmont; Daughter of yet this did not hinder the talk of Mar-Henry Prince rying her to Henry Prince of Wales, the of Wales. Eldeft Son of Fames the I. King of great Whether it was that Mary de Medicis had an Ambition to make all her Daughters Queens, or that she wou'd break off the Negotiation already much advanc'd betwixt his Britannick Majesty, and the Duke of Savoy, for Marrying the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Savoy: Fames had demanded the Eldest Daughter of France; but seeing that the Regent was fo far engag'd with Spain, he gave ear to the Duke of Savoy's Proposition, which he had made him. As his Majesty had got in the World a great Name for loving Money very well; fo Cosmus Great Duke of Florence, a more Monyed Prince than Charles Emanuel, thwarted the Defign. He offer'd one of his Sifters for the Prince of Wales, with a more considerable Fortune. But the Pope perhaps at the Inftigation of the Regent, who pretended to make the Duke of Savoy amends, by bringing about a Match for the Prince of Piedmont with the Princels of Florence; the Pope, I say, wrote forceably to the Great Duke, for to persuade him from any Alliance, which the Holy Chair

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Chair could not approve of. Notwithstanding the Pope's Letter, which seem'd to be Precarious, Cosmus thought always to Marry his Sifter into England; he pres't the Queen to affift him with her good Offices at Rome, to obtain a Difpensation; but Mary de Medicis who had other things in her Head, flatly denied The Duke of Savoy wrote to his Ambassador in France, to tell the King of England's Ambassador, that his Highness knowing well the Difference there is betwixt a Daughter of France, and a Princels of Savoy, Charles Emanuel might not think it strange, that a Daughter of Henry the IV, should be preferr'd before his; but he thought he should receive a sensible Affront, if his Britannick Majesty should Reject a Princels of Savoy, for to Marry his Son into the House of the Medicis.

The Regent shew'd so much eagerness for the Marriage of Christina with the Prince of Wales, as Edmonds, Knight and Ambassador from England, believ'd, that after the way Villeroy had spoke to him, it might be King James's fault, if this Assair was not concluded, and that Mary de Medicis would with much willingness yield to him all the Conditions he could ask of her. When the King had heard this News, he order'd Robert Carr Viscount of Rochester, his Favourite, to write to Prince Henry, who was then at Richmond, and pray him to speak freely.

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if he like'd of the Match. Henry had notice that Christina was not yet nine years of Age, and that her Eldest Sister's Portion was but 500000 Crowns in Gold. But France, said Rochester, seems to have so great a desire for this Marriage, as no one doubts, but she may give more to the Second Daughter, in case the Augmentation of her Fortune be insisted upon.

The Prince of Wales with great Prudence answer'd the King his Father upon all the Articles of the Letter of the Chevalier Edmonds, which he had fent him at the same time. 'As for the time, said he, 'they'l bring the Princess of France into England; I believe, the sooner it is, the better; and that your Majesty ought not to demur hereupon. As long as the Princess shall be in France, the Queen her Mother will be Mistress either to forward the Marriage, or to stave it off; and to oblige her Daughter to give her Consent, or hinder her from it. The younger she is, the more time we shall have, and eafiness to instruct her in our Religion, and Convert her. Since they ask of your Majesty to Explain your self, as to the Liberty the Princess shall have in the exercise of her Religion; I defire, you, Sir, to answer your Ambasfador pofitively, that you will not agree to any other Conditions with France. than what the Duke of Savoy had demanded, when he offer'd you his Daugh-

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fhall have the liberty to follow her Relifinal have the liberty to follow her Religion in private, and in the most Retir'd
Chamber of her Apartment. I confess,
that these are too strait and narrow Conditions; but if France speaks sincerely,
I don't question but that she will be contented with them.

Henry very well knew his covetous Fathers Humour. For this reason, he had a touch upon the Article of her Fortune, in a somewhat more nice manner. 'If your Majesty, continued he, regards the greatness of a Dowry, I think you will prefer the Princess of Savoy; the brings with her Two hundred thousand 'Crowns more than the Lady of France; for at least, I can scarce persuade my felf, that the Regent will give more to the second Daughter, than to the El-'deft. But if your Majesty lays afide 'Interest, to do what shall be more to the mind of the General Body of Prote-' stants abroad, it seems to me, you will rather encline to France than Savo, 'Laftly, concluded the Prince; I fee 'left your Majesty should not be content with the indifference I shew for all the Propositions of Marriage which are made I most humbly beg your pardon for it. T'is you Sir, who is to take the most advantageous Resolution that may be, for the good of the State. I have but little experience in politick Affairs and can't speak like a Man smitten with Love

'Love upon this Occasion. I have with the greater willingness inserted into History this Letter, because it might be perhaps the last he ever writ. T'was dated the 14th of October 1612. and the

Prince died the 16th of November.

Having drank some small Beer to quench his Thirst, after hard Riding, he fell dangerously Sick. All the skill of the ablest Physicians, could do no good against the violence of his Distemper. Heaven was deaf to the prayers of all England, for the recovery of a young Prince Nineteen years of Age, the Hopes and Delight of the Nation. Those Persons who at first affected to shew the greatest grief for his Death, were not forry for't heartily. At least t'was so believed. The Affliction of the common People was more fincere, and of deeper impression, than They generally faid, that of the Court. the Applauses which we have so hearti-'ly given the Prince of Wales, have been 'Ominous and Fatal to him. They who 'will Reign as absolute Masters, don't 'love to see their Children too popular. 'The Affection which young Henry had for Religion, and the Libertie's of his 'Country, had caus'd the course of life to be cut off, which had been so happily begun. Charles his Brother, and Frederick Elector of Palatine, who was come to vifit the Princess of England, defign'd in Marriage for him, were present at the Funeral in close Mourning. The

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Tears of the People who accompanied him to the Grave, in reckoning up his Vertues which shin'd already in his Person, and in bewailing the irreparable loss which England had suffer'd, were the greatest

Ornament of this Ceremony.

The Prohibition the King his Father made some few days after, to appear at Court in Mourning, redoubled the suspitions and indignation of the English-men. Did not he think as a Roman Emperor did once heretofore, that it did not become the Majesty of a Prince to sully his Face with Tears, that great Affictions are for little private Persons; and that Kings may die, but the State is Immortal. This was the reason why King Fames thought he ought not to Interrupt the Divertifements which were usual, at the beginning of a new year. T'was faid, that France was not forry to hear of the Death of the Prince of Wales, who seem'd rather to have the Inclinations of the ancient Kings of England, than of the Kings of Scottifh Race; and one could but very badly Interpret the Sentiments which the Prince shew'd, when he heard of the Death of Henry IV. 'I have loft, cry'd he, my fe-' cond Father. The common Opinion is, that young Henry had resolv'd to steal away from the English Court, and go learn the Trade of War under the King of France, as foon as he march't at the Head of his Army. At the same time the Prince of Wales lamented the Tragical

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cal Death of Henry the IV. a Courtier resolv'd to tell him, that this Occurrence would give his Highness the means of making the pretension of England's Kings to France, more strong and prevalent. 'Get you gone idle Flatterer, replyed the 'Prince in Anger; dare you talk to me 'of making War against an Insant? I am 'ready to defend him against all those 'who shall venture to attack him. The Son of that Person for whom the Prince had so Noble Sentiments, hath not had this delicate Generosity, though he was much more advanc't in Age.

I doubt whether it be needful to carry the Suspitions of young Henry's Death, as far as many in England have carried them. If it was haften'd, as the report of Phyficians made People believe, the Viscount of Rochester may have committed so horrible a Crime. He and his Wife were accus'd fince then, as being guilty of Poysoning. The Prince had no kindness for his Fathers Favourite; he always look't fourly upon him, and shew'd a great Repugnance of Spirit to suffer him near his Person. Robert Carr, a Gentleman of a mean Birth in Scotland, having found out a way to be Page to the King; his pleasant Countenance, fine Stature, infinuating Behaviour pleased him extreamly. In a little time Car was Knighted; and the King disgusted with the Count of Montgomery, set all his Afection upon the Scotch Knight: He rai-

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sed him up further to the Dignity of Vifcount of Rochester, and afterwards to be Duke of Somerset. The Fall of this unworthy Favourite was as shameful, as his Rife was aftonishing. He at last fell in Love with the Countels of Effex, who fought to engage him; and he afterwards married her. This is not a fit Place to relate this Lady's Adventures.' Tis faid, that the Prince of Wales was ftruck with her great Beauty; but Rochester was preferr'd before him. The Despite which the Prince harbour'd from hence, encreased the Aversion he had for his Rival. The Countess having let fall her Glove, as she was dancing, he who had taken it up, presented it to the Prince of Wales, thinking to please him, in giving him an Opportunity of shewing the Lady a Civility, whom he feem'd to have a Kindness for: But Henry threw the Glove back with Disdain; saying, 4 nother bath stretched it out. Two Lovers were expert in the An of Poyloning, fo, 'tis very probable, they had a mind to be rid of a Prince and make him away, who would have been a great Impediment to their Repole, and the Establishment of their Fortune.

The Count de Soissons, dead some Days before the Prince of Wales, left behind him vacant Places of great Dignity; the Governments of the Dauphiny and of Normandy, with the Office of Lord High-Steward of the King's Houshold. The Regent gave this Office to the new Count

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Son of the Deceased, with the Government of Dauphiny: She was willing to keep that of Normandy to her felf, and have it manag'd by a Lieutenant Ge-But the Prince of Conti was to be fatisfied, who ask'd for one of his Brother's two Governments. This feem'd very reasonable, Conti having heretosore given up the Government of the Dauphinate to the Count. To give him and the Guifes some satisfaction, a Sister of whom the Prince had married, it was caus'd to be propos'd to Charles of Valor, Natural Son of King Charles IX. whom we before call'dCount d'Auvergne, and henceforth hall be stil'd Duke of Angoulesme, to lay down the Government of Auvergne. Henry IV. had put him into Prison for a Conspiracy; and the Regent kept him there still. The Marquis de Cauvres was ordered to speak to him for accommodating the Matter. The Duke d'Angoulesme, who long'd for his Liberty, accepted the Proposition to obtain his Liberty; and so the Prince of Conti was made Governour of Auvergne.

The Count de Soissons had vast Designs rolling in his Head when he died. 'Twas said, that he had bound himself in a great Correspondence with Henry Prince of Wales, Maurice Prince of Orange, the Duke of Savoy and the Huguenot Party. The Duke of Rohan perceiving him discontented with the Regent and her Ancestors, sent to offer him his Services. He did not ask for the Government of Quille-

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beuf, but only to be in a Condition of giving Entrance to the Succours, which he had projected should come from England and Holland. His greatest Passion and Defire was to remove the Ministers, and quell the Party of the Guises, and of the Duke of Epernon. He would have had the Joy of seeing his Wishes almost fulfill'd. if Death had not taken him hence the first Day of November. The Marquiss and Marchionels d'Ancre, had so much preposses'd the Queen against the Ministers of State, and especially against Sileri, that she began to keep them in the dark as to her Cabinet Affairs. Galigai had the Insolence to fay a thousand offensive things to the Chancellor in presence of the Queen, and to upbraid him with the ill Administration of his Office. Mary de Medicis suffer'd her She-Confident to speak all; and poor Sileri dar'd not to answer a Word for him-He was afraid lest the Queen should second the Reproaches, perhaps too true, which were faid against him The Marchioness d'Ancre, being sure of her Miftress's Sentiments, spoke confidently, as the was able to pur out of Countenance the boldest Man alive. Maxim amongst interested Courtiers, not to be put off and repuls'd eafily, and not to quit the Game, but at the last Extremity. The Chancellor went into the Queen's Closer with other Ministers; but there he was afresh mortified. Her Majesty turn'd her Back to him, affecting to Speak

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Feannin.

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A new Party was now fet up at Court, which having got the uppermost, distipated all the reft. The Prince of Condé headed it. The Dukes of Nevers, Maienne, Longueville, the Marshal Bouillon, and the Marquels d'Ancre came into it : The Guises, Epernon, Amville, and their Friends, found their Affairs retarded by these Means. The Duke of Amville was Brother to the Conftable Montmorenci; in whole Absence, being gone to his Government in Languedoc, he joyn'd himself to the Guifes, whom he thought had got further into the Queen's Favour than others. The Mafter of the Horse, Bellegarde, of the same Parry, was then at Bourgundy, as Governour of it. He receiv'd Orders to come presently to Court. Bellegarde obey'd the more willingly, for that the Duke of Guise had haften'd him to come to their Relief. As foon as he had reach'd Sens, they gave him notice that the Queen had fent for him, only to put him out of his Government: Understanding this, he went back to it with all speed. The Marquels d'Ancre had laid an Intrigue for causing Bourgundy to be given to the Duke of Mayenne.

There were more open Contentions at The Jefuit the Sorbonne than at the Court. The Je-Becanus his suits let loose against the lawful Authority Book condensof Sovereigns, publish'd new Books every ned.

Mercure François 1611,

the proud Borgbese. Becan, a famous Author of the Society, had printed one this Year, with this Title, The Controversie of England touching the King and Pope's Au-When Doctor Filezac, new Syndic of the Faculty at Paris, had perus'd it, he spoke of it to Cardinal Bonzi to know whether the Queen would think fit the Sorbonne should censure so pernicious a Book. The Nuncio and the Jesuin strove alike to shake off the Blow. Ubaldini saw that the Faculty would not fail to have a fling in its Censure, at the pretended Authority of the Holy Chair. The good Fathers feared, left a new Decree of the Faculty of Paris publish'd through out all France, might further confirm the common Opinion, That the Society make Profession to teach constantly a Doctrine which is contrary to the Authority of Kings, and Security of their Persons. Bu the Propositions of Becan were so loud complain'd of, as it was expedient to ap peale Mens Minds by some Condemnation Here's the Expedient which the Pope's Counsel and the Jesuits resolv upon. They told the Queen, that it would be of greater efficacy to have these forts Books condemned at Rome; and that Censure coming forth from the Hol Chair, would carry more Authority with it, than one from the Faculty of Para Mary de Medicis was eafily drawn into the Snare they had laid for her. She bid th Cardinal Bonzi tell the Syndic of the Fa culty

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culty, That her Majesty would not have 1612. the Sorbonne to determine any thing upon Becan's Book, because the Queen had a defign to have it condemn'd by the Pope, the Court of Rome, and the good Fathers to make for them this Evafion. If the sorbonne had left off making a noise, the Examination of the Book had been flopt. Whatever came on't, the Inquisition condemning a Book in general Terms, without specifying any thing, People could not exactly know upon what Point the Condemnation fell; and thus the exorbitant Proposition, concerning the Pope's Authority, would have been not touch'd or meddled with: It was supposed, that the Inquisition never intended to condema them.

One Paris having presented in the Sorbonne, the first of December, some Propositions extracted out of Becan's Book; wherein the Affaffination of Kings and Princes was permitted, and many other things contain'd, which were contrary to Divine and Humane Laws, the Syndic made a Report of what Cardinal Bonzi had told him concerning the Queen's Intentions: Dr. Paris's Mouth being stop'd with this Answer, defir'd, that what he had propos'd, might be register'd; and that a Copy of what the Faculty had concluded upon, might be given him. It was granted him. The first Day of the Year following, the Faculty of Paris deputed four Doctors to represent to the Chancellor, that they de-

fired to make a publick Testimony of their Stedfastness for the Service of the King. by censuring Becan's Book; and to make at least, the Publick know, that it was not their Fault, if so dangerous a Book had not been condemn'd in Forms, or formally. They moreover faid, that they entreated leave to remonstrate to the Queen upon this, as an Affair of the greatest Importance. Sileri approved the Zeal of the Sorbonne. He gloried, that he had all his Learning in the University of Paris; And so he promised the Doctors to introduce them into her Majesty's Presence Dr. Fayet, who was the Spokesman, told the Regent, that the Faculty of Paris not being accustom'd to receive Orders from the King by the Mouth of any private Person, or by Letters under the Privy-Seal, but only by Letters fealed with the Great Seal, they had obey'd, as foon as it was reported to them what the Cardina Bonzi had told the Syndic of ther Maje sty's Intentions. 'Nevertheless, Ma dam, faid he, the Faculty hath believed ' it was their Duty to receive your Orde ' from your own Mouth. If you don't ' judge it convenient for us to deliberate ' upon Jesuit Becan's Book, we most hum bly entreat your Majesty to take care, that our Silence upon this Occasion be not 'interpreted as a tacit Approbation of those pernicious Sentiments, which de-' prives Kings of their lawful Authority and justifies their Assassination: The Regest

Regentanswer'd, that she would speak of 1612. this Affair to her Council, and that the Chancellor should by the Faculty know

her Intentions.

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Dr. Fayet being come to the Chancellor some Days after: The Queen, said Sileri, is inform'd, that the wicked Book of Becan is become too common. Her Majefly gives you leave to do what you judge con-cenient. 'Tis a great Mischief, that the Sorbonne is divided, for what concerns good Sentiments. Will you never unite and agree again? Fajet answer'd the Chancellor, That the Faculty was willing to old preserve its ancient Doctrine; and that they had always taught the same Doctrine in the Sorbonne, till some certain Persons had broach'd there some E ons had broach'd there some Foreign Othe Doctors for their Zeal, and gave the Doctors for their Zeal, and gave the as it Queen's leave to censure Becan's Book; ut the Nuncio Vbaldini cunningly turn'd laje he Blow afide: He being persuaded, that Ma mething would be attempted in France he Blow afide: He being persuaded, that gainst the Jesuit's Work, straitways solliited a Decree from the Inquisition. As on as he receiv'd it, he communicated it erate the Queen: She being always submisnumve to the Pope, rold the Faculty, that it that not be Sorbonne. The Affair thus rested. One in of light be surprized to find Robert Bellarin's Name amongst those Cardinals, ority the condemn'd the Author's Book, who bllow'd Bellarmin's Principles, if it as sufficient to read the Decree openly in

was not known, that the Cardinal promored in the Society, had in a readiness his Equivocations and Mental Restrictions, to condemn with safety of Conscience in the Work of one of his own Fraternity, the Doctrine which he maintain'd as the most Orthodox in the World.

An Edict of Palement against Scioppius s Book.

It was the Jesuits alone, who courted Paul V. by writing against James I. King of England, concerning the Authority of Sovereigns and the Holy Chair. Scioppius, the most violent. Enemy of that Society, would enter the Lift likewife, and shew some of his fine Latin in notable Dispute. His Book having been brought from Frankfort-Fair to Paris, there was a Presentment made of it to the Parlement. Scioppius discours'd herein of Henry IV. as if he was a Prince without any Religion. He seem'd to approve of the infamous Action of Ravillac. Kings and Sovereigns, who let Hereticks live in repose in their States, were, in his Opinion, Hereticks themselves. What do I say? nay, even Turks and Atheifts. The Parlement order'd, that this extravagant and impious Book should be burnt by the Hands of the Common Executioner; and that all the Copies should be suppress'd. That it should be branded in England after the same manner, is no wonder. Hift. & Cri- I can't enough admire, the King of Great Britain should suffer a Farce to be acted before him, wherein Scioppius was represented and hang'd upon the Stage. A Re-

venge

Dictionaire tiqi de M., Bayle,

venge alike unworthy of a Prince and an Author! If his Majesty had look'd upon Scioppius's Work as the Libel of a contemptible Declamator, should not the King have despis'd it, or at the best, contented himself to have left to the Magistrates the Execution of the Laws against defamatory and pernicious Libels? But to take a Pleafure to be reveng'd of the Author after fuch a manner, so little becoming a Crown'd Head, was to shew the Publick, that the Book had touch'd to the Quick the Perfon whom the Author had attack'd.

The Care which his Britannick Maje- Peacebetwist fly took at that time to reconcile the King the Crowns of of Denmark with Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedeland new King of Swedeland, was a Work and Denmore worthy of a Prince. Christian IV. endeavour'd this Year to push on his Conquests in Swedeland. He, accompanied with George Duke of Lunenbourg, who had brought him Succour, advanc'd as far as Jenkoping, laying all the Country desolate, where he went. The young Gustavus gave now such clear Tokens of his Wisdom and Valour, as that the Queen Christina his Mother left to him the Administration of the Realm, though he was but yet in the eighteenth Year of his Age. He stopp'd the Enemies Progress, and oblig'd him to retire into the Province of Schonen. Gustavus follow'd him thither; and after the way of using Reprisals, he put all to Fire and Sword. The Swedish Army had some disadvantage in their Re-

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treat. The King of Denmark made a new Irruption into West Gothia. Being aboard the Fleet, he try'd to get near to Stockholm. Gustavus broke the Enemy's Design with an extraordinary Prudence and Courage. At last the Hans Towns, and the United Provinces, rroubled that the War betwixt the two Northern Crowns broke off all Commerce in the Baltick Sea, engag'd the King of England to intermediate for a Peace. Christian himself treated with four Swedish Senators. After some Conferences held at the end of this Year, the Treaty was concluded at the beginning of the next following. Denmark gave up to the Swedes the City of Calmar, and the Isle of Ocland; but kept E'sbourgh for a time, and till the Crown of Swedeland had paid a certain Sum of Money, which Denmark pretended was due to him.

Revolutions in Muscovy.

Gustavus very freely surrender'd something on that fide, to be in a Condition of marching towards Muscovia. There was a strong Party who defir'd of him Prince Charles Philip his Brother, whom these People intended to fet upon the Throne of their Nation. Altho' the Affair of Muscoby feem to have no Relation to those of France, I think I ought to fay something of the surprizing Revolutions which were fren there at the beginning of the XVII. Century. This may give us a more particular Light into the State of Europe in Lewis XIII. his time. Czar, John Bafilovits, fam'd for his Cruelties.

clties, and the War which the brave Ste- 1612. phen Battori King of Poland wag'd against French Merhim with fo much Glory and Advantage, cury, 1605. as the Muscovite was oblig'd to have recourse to the Pope's Intercession for obtaining a Peace. Bafilovitz, I say, had left but two small Children behind him of seven Wives which he had, Theodorus and Demetrius. The eldeft, stupid and heartless, succeeded him. Whilst he diverted himself in ringing of Church-Bells, Boris Frederovits, a Muscovite Lord, who had married his Sifter, govern'd the State. This wicked Ambitions Man caus'd young Demetrius to be flain, who dwelt with his Mother in a Castle remote from Mosco: And the better to conceal his Crime, he procured him to be affaffinated, whom he made use of to commit this Villany. The Czar Theodore died in a little time after. Twas thought Boris had poylon'd him. The Masculine Line of the ancient Czars being thus at an end, it was not hard for Bors, Brother-in-Law to this last Prince, to mount up into the Throne. Being as crafty as he was cruel, he had taken care to gain the Love of the People, and to remove far from him, under specious Pretences, the Lords, who were in capacity to oppose his Ambition. He was crown'd at Misco in all Forms and Ceremonies: His bloody and fuspicious Name render'd him quickly odious to the Mufcovites. A Nation accustomed to Slavery, doth not so patiently suffer the Tyranny of a Prince P 3

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newly rais'd up to the Throne, as that 1612. which is establish in a long Succession of one and the same Family.

A Courterfeit Poland.

About the year 1604. Boris receiv'd Demetrius in News from Poland, which put him to strange Difficulties. A Russian Monk had carried thither a young Man, who much resembled in Stature and Countenance the Prince Dimetrius, whom Boris had caus'd to be put to Death. The Monk first puts this youth into the Service of Vietsnovisky a Polish Lord, who had Marryed the Palatin's Daughter of Sendomir, from whence he got into the Palatines Wine-House. When the Monk thought he had prepared Men well enough, he told the Palatine as a Secret, that this young Man was Demetrius, lawful Heir of the Empire of Russia, who had been privately and happily convey'd away from the Cruelty of Boris, by putting another Child in the Prince's room, whom the Tyrant intended to cause to be slain. This adventure was related with fuch probable Circumstances, as the Palatine believ'd all that was rold him. He presently discover'd the Secret to Sigismond King of Poland who was willing to be fully acquainted with the pretended Demetrius. .

The Youth who neither wanted Wi or Education, Rehearfeth the Misfortune of his Life in the presence of the King with much Craftiness, and a good Grace; he shew'd certain natural Marks on his Face, and upon one of his Hands, which

he pretended to be undeniable Proofs of the 1612. truth of his Birth, and then addressing himself to Sigismond, he thus proceeded. I am, Sir, very happy to have fallen into the hands of a King, who having been himself unfortunate and persecuted, during his Infancy by his Uncle, must have the greater Compassion for my hard Fortune. You was born in the Prison where the Cruel Erric had put your Majesties Father and Mother. Polanders have made choice of you, before all the Princes in Europe. This distinction, Sir, ought to render you the more refpetted by the Swedes your Natural Subjests. Another Ambitious Uncle raiseth'em against you, he endeavours to Inatch forcibly away your Patrimony. Thanks be to God, your Majesty is still powerful enough to help me to be Restor'd to mine. As soon as you shall put me into a condition to be thankful for so great a Favour, the Polanders and Muscovites united together, Shall quicky reduce the Swedish Rebei. May Heaven grant, that after this Happy Expedition, we may joyntly fee upon the common Enemy of the Christians. If King Sigismond did not believe what was told him, he hop'd however that the Story, whether true or false, might stand him in some stead against the Muscovites. T'was resolv'd upon to Affist the pretended Demetrius, and to fend him first into Lithu mia, that from thence to write to the Pope, he might be nearer Muscovy. He askt of him to do him all the good turns he cou'd

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cou'd in Poland. The Court of Rome always attentive to what is capable of extending her usurpt Domination, willingly gave an ear to the Person, who made her hope to Reduce the Russians to the Obedience of the Holy Chair.

Demetrius enters into! Muscovy, and there Crown'd.

A private Rumor presently run abroad at Mosco, that the Prince Demetrius having scap'd the fury of the Tyrant Boris, shew'd himself near to the Frontiers. The Malecontents and they who lov'd Novelty, confirm'd for truth what others had faid. The People eafily drawn to believe extraordinary Contingencies, and who flatter themselves with finding a milder and more supportable Government, feem'd to wait with impatience Demetrius's coming. Boris inform'd of what had pass't at Poland, and of the practices begun at Mosco, did not know which side to take, whether he should despise this Story, as if it was but a ridiculous Story, the noise of which in a little time nisheth, or if he should downright prepare himself to press and quell a Party, which seem'd to fortifie it self ev'ry day, both at home and abroad : Persuaded at last that nothing was to be neglected, he caus'd it to be spread abroad on his fide, that the pretended Demetrius was a known Mag cian; and after Orders for the fatery of the Frontiers, he fent Ambassadors to the Diet at Warfam. They were to complain to the King and Republick of Poland, for that they had Transgress'd the Cond

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Conditions of Peace made betwixt the two States, by shewing their willingness to uphold the Impostures of the miserable Son of a Prieft, and to demand the delivery of him up to 'em alive or dead. In case the Ambassador cou'd not obtain of 'em a favourable Answer, Boris had order'd 'em to Negotiate with some Popish Lords, for to engage them to oppose a design, which the King might have against him. Sigismmd answer'd the Muscovites in general Terms, and in the mean time, prepared himself underhand to asfift him, who averr'd himself to be the

rightful Heir of the ancient Czars.

Demetrius enter'd into Moscovy at the Head of an Army, confifting of Ten thoufand Poles and Cossacks, which the Palatine of Sendomir commanded under him. Demetrius and he not having known the advantage they had of fo good an occasion to rout the Muscovite Army, were themselves defeated in the beginning of the year 1605. Demetrius too weak to keep the Field any longer, thut himself up in a Town, which he had before taken; he hop'd to receive new Succors from Poland, before the Enemy could retake the places which had been taken from him. The Death of Boris, while these things were doing, arriv'd and chang'd the face of Affairs. Tho' the Muscovite Army had fworn fealty to his Son, division got into it in a little time after. All follow'd the Example of some Lords, who decla-P 5

red aloud for the pretended Demetrius. 1612. The Son and Widow of Boris, were Apprehended and Stifled. At length the New Czar is receiv'd and Crown'd at Mosco the French Mer- last day of July, in 1605. The Palatine cury 1000. Sandomir's Daughter, whom Demetrim afterwards Marryed by a Proxy at Cracovia, was conducted in great Pomp the following year to Mosco. Her Father, and her nearest Relations were present at the Ceremony of her Marriage and Coronation.

Demetrius Maffacret at Mulco.

The New Princess did not long enjoy and many Po- her good Fortune. Susky, a Moscovite, to lin Lords are whom Demetrius had pardon'd his Life, against the Advice of many Persons, who Counsell'd him to let the Sentence of Death be executed, which had pass't against a Man of a restless and ambitious Spirit, and of whose Fidelity no one could be affured; Susky, I hay, and a great number of Muscovite Nobles, had now laid a Plot against Demetrius. They ren der'd him odious to the Clergy and Peo ple, by spreading abroad a Rumour, tha he defign'd to alter Religion, to bring Muscovy into subjection under the Pope and cause Jesuits and Roman Priests u 'come in : And because the People though Heaven would not have fo much decla red in favour of the New Czar, if he ha been an Impostor, t'was endeavour'd i make it be believ'd, that he had not go so great advantage against Boris and hi Son, but by the help of Magick. Discourse

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Discourse made so great an Impression, as the People could hardly fuffer, that Demetrius should have two or three Companies of Foreigners to guard his Palace and Person. The natural Aversion which the Muscovites have for the Poles, made the People yet more apt to receive what they took care to infinuate into them; to wit, that the Treasure of the Czars was to be Transported into Poland, and that the State should be govern'd for the furure by a Polish Princess, and other Confidents of the same Nation. and the principal Heads of this Conspiracy, having taken their Measures by the favour of the Malecontents, to make an Insurrection of the People in Mosco, the 27th of May 1606. came to the Palace at the Head of a great number of armed Men, broke it open with violence, flew the pretended Demetrius betray'd by his best Friends, and did a thousand Indignities to his dead Body. The People afterwards put all the Polanders to the Sword; tis reported, that there died of 'em more than seventeen Hundred. The Palatine of Sendomir was only saved, his Daughter, his Son, and some Lords, who were ev'ry one of them put into private Houles.

Susky caus'd himself to be chosen, and Susky is Crown'd in the room of Demetrius, whe-made Czar of ther he was the right, or Counterfeit Muscovy and one; for at last many pretended that he down his spoke truth. But the Circumstance of Dignity.

the Monk who conducted him into Poland, and that of his being put into Service in two different Houses; this I say, makes the Hiftory to be very much fufpected. It feems to me, that a Child of this Importance, shou'd have been first carried to the King of Poland. What had he there to fear from him? Whatever this Affair was, yet to confirm further the People in their Opinion, that this was a Cheat, Susky was willing they shou'd dig up the dead Body of him, whom Boris had caus'd to be Slain. The Bones were carried to Mosco, and the Patriarch order'd that he should be Reverenced asa Martyr. Susky not doubting but that the Poles would wage a War against him, enter'd into a Negotiation with Charles of Sudermania, the New King of Sweden, who fent him Succors under the Conduct of de la Gardie. The Divisions of Sigifmond with the Palatines of his Realm, did not permit him to attack the Muscovites so soon. In the year 1609, he resolved to take the City of Smolensko, which the Muscovites had taken from the Poles. The Siege or Blockade of this place, lafted two years; and more than two Hundred Thousand Inhabitants died, before it was furrender'd. He fought several times to cause the Siege to be raised. Susky troubled at the ill fuccess of his Arms, retired into a Monastery, after having laid down the Scepter and Crown.

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Muscovy was then divided into three 1612. Parties. A New Demetrius was put up, Ladislaus and a great many declared for him; land, proothers to remedy the ill condition Musco- claim'd Care vy was in, would have Ladislam, King of Mukovy. Sigismond's Eldest Son, and a hopeful Prince, set upon the Throne. At last a third Party would have a great Lord of the Country; these being united to Ladiflau's Party, he was chosen Czar in his absence, in the year 1610. and the most confiderable of the Clergy and Nobility, took an Oath of Fidelity to him. falle Demetrius strove to make himself Mafter of Mosco; but the Poles having twice beaten him, he was obliged to Retreat beyond the River Volga. the Poles into a condition of undertaking ev'ry thing. They made themselves Mafters of the Caftles of Mosco, and made it known to King Sigismond, who daily Befieg'd Smolensko, that his Son was Proclaimed Czar. The Inhabitants offer'd to yield themselves to Ladislam, Elected Sovereign of Moscovy: But Sigismond was willing to get the place for Poland. The Inhabitants resolved not to separate themfelves from the interest of Moscovy, held still the Siege out, till the Month of June, 1611. So that Sigismend had got but a City almost quite Dispeopled, and reduc'd to Ashes. The King of Poland, who did not think so much of Establishing his Son in the Throne of Moscovy, as to make advantage of the Country's Divisions, and bring

1612. bring it into Subjection, deferr'd too long to carry Ladiflaus into Mosco. He had put off this Affair to the year 1612. but the continual Contentions he had with the Palatines, did not suffer him to execute his Project.

So long a delay gave time to the Rela-

tions of the Deceased Czar Boris, to get

The Poles are driven out of Mulcovy, and Michael chosen Czar.

together a strong Party. Michel Fede-Federovits is rovits put himself at the Head of 'em, and march't towards Mosco. The Polish General came out of the City, gather'd Troops together, and gave Battle to the Moscovites revolted from Ladislaus. The Polanders were Defeated, and their General Retreated towards Smolensko, with the broken Remnant of his Army. ter this t'was easie to drive the Poles out of the Castle of Mosco. The Moscovites thus deliver'd from a Foreign Power, chose a New Czar in the year 1612. This was Michel Federovits, the nearest Kinsman of the Deceased Czar Boris. A New Party united in favour of Charles Philip, Brother to Gustavus King of Poland, might have been able to have thwarted this Election, if Gustavus had not lost the Opportunity, by thinking rather to extend his own Dominion, than endeavour his Brothers Establishment. The Muscovites had time to reunite themselves. New Czar having nothing more to fear at Home, undertook to be revenged of the Poles. He laid Siege to Smolensko the following year, and the City being but weak-

Book II. LEWIS XIII.

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weakly defended, was in a little time taken. The Poles were then so divided, as that they were not in a condition to hinder the Enemy from retaking all that Poland had taken away from him, and making inroads further into Liebuania.

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OF

LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Navarre.

BOOK IV.

Rance was not much less troubled 1613.

with Commotions, than Poland. If The Barm de there was not yet Civil War in Luz. Slain by France, the Number of Malecon-the Chroalier tents was so great, and the Factions encreast after such a manner ev'ry day, as all seem'd to be in a readiness for-

1613:

an open Rupture. The Death of the Baron de Luz, Knight of the King's Order, and his Lieutenant General in Burgundy, who was kill'd in the midft of Paris the 5th of Fanuary 1613. by the Chevalier de Guife, gave the Queen new Disquiets.

Luz whilft he liv'd, had made many Persons; he had been in a League with different Parties, and we find him in feveral Intrigues. Under the Reign of the Deceased King, he was one of the intimate Friends of the Mareschal Biron. the beginning of this, he was Intrigu'd with the Guifes; but believing he shou'd fettle himself better thro' the Marquess d'Ancre's favour, he left them to be of Conchini's fide. He was suspected to serve this Italian in a defign he had to undoe Bellegarde, and take away from him the Government of Burgundy. This provok't more against him, the House of Guise, Friend and Ally to Beuegarde. This House sought but an occasion to be reveng'd and rid of a Man, who not content to have left him in the Lurch, was moreover Intrigu'd French Mer- to mischief him as much as he could, Some of the Baron's indifcreet words feem'd to the Chevalier de Guise, a sufficient reason to fight him. The Baron had unwarily brag'd of his being at Blois with pag. 23, 24. the Mareschal Briffac, in the Chamber where King Henry the III. had taken a Resolution, to cause the Duke of Guise

cury 1613.

Siri Memorie recondite. Tom III.

to be Slain, and to have hinder'd Briffac from Advertising the Duke of this evil Defign against him. This was reason enough to animate the Chevalier de Guile to be reveng'd of an Enemy of his House. who boafted to have contributed to the Death of his Father, by hindring Briffac from faving his Life. The Chevalier then met the Baron in St. Honore's Street, makes him draw his Sword, and at the second Pass he made at him, kills him.

The Regent who made use of the Baron The Queen's de Luz, was extreamly provok't at this one against boldness. She being perswaded that they the Guiles. thought rather to give her Trouble, than revenge the Death of the Deceased Duke of Guise, left her Dinner which she had just fet down at; as soon as the heard of the Baron's Death, and throwing the Napkin upon the Table, the retir'd with Tears in her Eyes into her Closet. Her Memoires de Majesty straitways calls for the Princes Bassimpierre and Ministers to deliberate upon this Affair, which she extreamly took to Heart. It was there resolv'd, that the Parlement should take Informations, and proceed immediately to profecute the Murderer, and fend somebody in her Majesty's Name to Guise's House, for to command the Nobility, who were met there, to be gone forthwith, and forbid the Duke appearing at the Louvre, till such time the Queen

was resolv'd to go to Court, accompanied with a great number of Gentlemen. Some scrupl'd to go out of Guise's House, thô the Duke had pray'd them to obey the Regent's Order. The Count de la Rochefoucault, Master of the King's Wardrobe, Signalized himself amongst all the rest. He alone resus'd to go out, and the Queen was angry at his Disobedience, and commanded him to be gone presently from Court.

The Mind of Mary de Medicis was fomewhat quieted, when the heard, that the Duke of Guise had made the Chevahier his Brother depart from his House, and that he had order'd him to be gone into the Country. Bassompierre a friend to the Guise's, for the Princess of Conti's fake their Sifter, whom he lov'd, and to whom his Person was not indifferent took an Opportunity to tell the Queen, that the Duke humbly, defires leave of her Majesty, to justifie himself. The Queen granted him this, on condition he wou'd only come when it was almost Night, and without any Company. Baffompierre went and fetcht him immediately. The Duke spoke in such Respectful and Submissive Terms, as her Majesty seem'd to be appeas'd: But the Dutchess, Mother of the Guiser, spoilt all in a Visit she afterward made to the Queen. The Dutchess spoke of the

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the Matter so proud and lofty, as her 1613. Majesty was more provok't against the Guises's, than before.

The Duke was enrag'd against the Siri Memoire Prince of Conde's Party, which had op-recondite, To. posed him: He could not Digeft, that the III. pag. 24. Duke of Mayenne his Cousin was enter'd into it : Guise, if the Duke of Epernon had not stopt him, in company of some of his Friends, would have Assaulted Mayenne, who likewise walk'd well Guarded, infomuch that there might have been much Blood spilt. The Queen advertis'd of this New Accident, order'd the Duke of Mayenne to be reconcil'd with the Head of his Family, and to go and visit Guise at his House. They had a long Discourse together, and parted seemingly good Friends.

I don't know whether it was not May- The Duke of nne, who perfuaded the Duke of Guise, Guise would ncens't that the Queen deny'd him to joyn himself to call back the Count Rochefoucault to Court, Conde's to unite with the Prince of Conde for re- Party. moval of the Ministers, already funk in heir Credit. The Marquess d'Ancre had o great a defire of drawing into this new Confederacy the Dukes of Guise and Epernon, which was so prevalent at Court, as Guise having address't Conchini, to get the Regent to give the Count de la Rochefouault leave to return to Court, this politick

1613. litick Italian answer'd the Duke, that the Prince of Conde was the most proper Man Memoires de to make the Design succeed. However Bassimpierre. it was, Guise then resolv'd to joyn himself to Conde. This Prince, said he, is like a Scourge, which the Regent intends to lash me with: But I shall know how to hinder it. The Accommodation was almost concluded, and the Duke also of Epernon, wholly disposed to enter into the League.

The Regent fuspicious of the Prince of Conde.

Conde content to have remov'd from the Queen the Duke of Guise and Epernon, thought himself for the future Mafter of all. He could not imagine now, that Mary de Medicis dare deny him any longer the Government of Chateau-Trompette, which he was minded to have, to the end that the Cittadel of the Capital of his Government in Guienne might depend upon him. He was then resolv'd to ask it, through the means of the Duke of Novers, Mayenne, and the Marquels d'Ancre. The Mareschal Bouillon was to be one of them, but he excus'd himself, whether he feign'd to be troubled with the Gout, or that he was so really. This was the usual way of this able Politician to make Parties, but not to engage in 'em too far himself. He rais'd the Regent new Troubles, that they might fue to him at last, and purchase him to breaks Plot, which had she spun in secret. Mary Medici

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Medicis surpris'd at the demand which the three Lords made for the Prince, reasonably fear'd, lest these Gentlemen should take away her Authority; and Govern, leaving her only the empty Title of Regent. Calling then to mind that the Dukes of Guise and Epernon were not in so strait a Bond with the Prince of Conde, but that she could easily separate em, she resolv'd fully to be reconcil'd with the only Grandees, who were able to disappoint the Projects of the first Prince of the Blood.

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After having answer'd in an indifferent way, that he wou'd consider of what was propos'd to her; her Majesty retir'd into her Closet, to avoid the new Instances of the Lords, for a positive Answer, and feeing they follow'd her, with a defign to press her further to it. I have Regard, faid she, talking quite of another Subject, to the Galantry of Bassompierre: He doth not believe that I am inform'd of it; but be will be much concern'd as soon as he knows, that I am told all. This was only but a pretence to speak to this Gentleman, zealous for the House of Gnise. The Duke of Nevers not doubting any thing, beckon'd to Baffompierre to come nearer, because the Queen had somewhat to say to him. No, no, said this diffembling Princels, i'le discover nothing of the Matter to him. Baffompierre unquiet, as for1612.

fortunate Menace in the like Occurrences, presently pray'd the Queen to tell him what she knew. There she feigning to answer his Request, went aside towards a Window, to talk privately to Bassompierre.

Love is not a Subject now to Discourse on, Said Mary de Medicis to him, I only call you for to ask you, if Guile thinks no more of Rochefoucault's return. Madam, answer'd Bassompierre, who dived throughly into the Queen's design, It is three days agoe, since Guise has Spoke to me of this Matter. Besides he has wish't me, that I shou'd not Speak any further of it to your Majesty I fee bim resolv'd to be friends with th Prince, and through his means, procure the Rochefoucault be call'd back to Court Guise, Madam, hopes that your Majesty wi not take it ill, that he's gone over to the Prince's side. The Mareschal de Ancre your Creature, bath fet bim an Example for it.

The Queen being alone with Bassom pierre, some sew Tears of a sudden gust from her, and turning towards the Window, for sear she might be perceived a Weep; Ab, said she to Bassompierre, som naughty Men have over-perswaded me a Despise the House of Guile, and slight the late King's Ministers of State; and not seeing me without Support, they go to ruin

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my Authority. The Infolent Carriage of them, when they ask't of me the Government -of Chareau-Trompette, discovers sufficiently what they wou'd be at; but I shall find a way to break all their Measures. Bassompierre cou'd not have a fairer occasion to ferve the Duke of Epernon, and the Minifters of State bis Friends : He affur'd her Majesty, that she should have them all on her side, whensoever she pleas'd; at least Madam, continued be, the means may be found to get 'em over. Attend me after Dinner, reply'd the Queen; in the mean ime I shall think of some other Business to tell you. Mary hereupon left him, and mter'd into Conversation till Dinner-time, with as much freedom of Mind, as if the ad been the most satisfi'd Person in the Vorld.

Baffompierre feigning to go away with The paffonate e rest, as soon as the Queen went to and greedy t at Table, mer the Duke of Guife in Temper of the e Palace-yard. Well, faid Baffompierre Guife. him, you have now thoughts of getting. ck to Court poor Rochefoucault. Hee'l e out of meer Grief, if he be forc't to ep in the Country all this time of pleasant version we have at Court. Ah, be shall urn, reply'd the Duke, rapping out a great th, and I wou'd be beholden to the Queen t. I have had all the Zeal imaginable to

1613. Serve her, and she as poorly requites me.

I have been constrain'd to look out for a Master, and this is the Prince of Conde and his Cabal. I'le be stedfast to 'em, seeing I have been oblig'd to joyn with 'em against my Inclination. I believe, Sir, continued the Duke, you'l not dislike what I have done, since you have betaken your self to the same side.

I, Sir, answer'd Baffompierre smiling, am a most Humble Servant to every one of the Cabal in particular, but take them al together, and in a Body, I know none of 'cm. I hold to the Parson of our Parish, I am the King's and Queen's Servant, and never bind my felf over to any Party. You formerly were the Head of a Cabal, since you wil have it so. You had no dependance, but on the King and Queen, and you carried it above all others; and to day you joyn'd Per-Sons, who will show you a Thousand Affront, and give you a Thousand Troubles when they have once got you in; and what will become of you then? You can't Suffer small Indifferency, a slight Refusal from the Queen. You have just new kill'd the Be ron of Luz, almost in the very Face her; and do you pretend at the same is Stant, the King's Officer, Should be recall whom the Queen might have imprison's for loudly refusing to obey the Orders for fent him to leave your House ?

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The Duke of Guise was too passionate for to reap any Benefit from Baffompiere's good Advice, but said enough to make him know, that his Heart was fet more upon Interest than Honour. 'The Queen, said he, 'shall know some Day, that she is in the wrong to undo me, by pleafing Persons who domineer over her. ' shall look out for me; but I won't listen 'to her .; or if I do, I'll be bought at a 'dear Rate. What meannels of Spirit is this in Men, who by their Birth are most honourably diftinguish'd! This generous Anger, this Noble Pride could not hold out against the Force of a Hundred Thoufand Crowns. We shall by and by see the Truth of this.

The Duke of Epernon was of a much Duke of Finferiour House than that of the Guises, pernon's Noyet he manifested much more Noble Sentiments. 'In all great Affairs, he answer'd Bassompiere, who exhorted him to
sacrifice all the Causes of Complaint the
Queen had given him, in such an important Occasion as this is, 'I don't stand
it out to argue with my Superiours. A
'Man ought to take his Resolutions after
'a more free and generous manner. I
'won't capitulate with my Massers. Pros-

fer me a Reward? I should look on it as an Affront done me. What I can do for the · Queen is already sufficiently paid. I should be unworthy of the Name I bear, and the Offices I am dignified withal, and ought to be as despicably look'd upon as the most ungrateful of all Men, if I ' should make my Master buy my Services. Bassompierre averr'd, that he never forgot what he heard the Duke of Epernon up-The Words certainly dethis Occasion. ferve to be committed to Memory; and if there was not more of Vanity perhaps, than of Reality in the Duke of Epernon's Sentiments, it must be confess'd to his Glory, that he had a more Noble Heart than any Prince or Grandee of the Court of France.

The Regent reconciled with the Dukes of Guile and Epernon.

In the mean time Bassompierre went to wait again on the Queen, after she had dined, as her Majesty had order'd him. I am so sick at Stomach, said Mary de Medicus, when she was alone with him, as all that I have eaten seems to be Poyson: If I am not suddenly rid of this Trouble, I fear that I shall be out of my Wits. She spoke probably more Trust than she thought for. They who best understood this Business, testified this of her, that she had a great Spirit; but not the large Capacity, nor the Constancy and Experience,

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perience, which another Queen of the fame House shew'd in some Precedent Reigns; and those excellent Qualities were needful to Mary de Medien for to govern a State full of Factions. 'Bassompiere, continued the, 'you must bring me back the Duke of Guise whatever it costs: 'Offer him a Hundred Thousand Crowns, which I'll pay him in ready Money, ' with the Lieutenancy-General of Provence ' for the Chevalier his Brother, and the Re-'version of the Abbey of St. Germain for the Princess his Sifter. In a Word, I 'give you full Power to offer what you please, provided you make him quit this Cabal, and I can be ascertain'd of his good Intentions. 'Madam, answer'd Bassompierre smiling, you have put such a Stock into my Hands, as 'twill be very hard if I do not make a good Bargain.

Now see here what the Reversion is of the Abbey of St. Germain de Prez at Paris. The Prince of Conti enjoy'd this rich Benefice, though he was married. The same was promis'd to the Princess his Wife, in case he died before her. Strange Abuse of Ecclesiastical Revenues! But a Dispensation from the Pope solves all. Let it not be said, that these Disorders are now reform'd. Have we not seen a Younger

1613. The Count of Marian.

younger Brother of the House of Lorrain in France, confirm'd by a folemn Edict in the Enjoyment of a confiderable Penfion from a Bishoprick; because the Pope had granted him a Dispensation to keep it, notwithstanding his Marriage? And certainly, every thing fully consider'd, if the Revenues of the Church been't employ'd for the Relief of the Poor, or any other good Work, they are as well in the Hands of a Prince or Princess, as in any idle Monk's hands, Cardinal's, or Abbot's of Quality, who spend them in rich Equipage, great Feafts, keeping of Horses and Dogs. and maintaining Misses. But I returnto Bassompierre's Negotiation.

Before he had taken leave of Mary de Medicis for to go and execute his Orders, he spoke to the Queen to call back to Court the Duke of Epernon. I would withal my Heart, the reply'd but he is a Man whom I have offended and he never pardons. 'Yes, his Ene mies, answer'd Baffompierre smiling; but not his Matters. The good Prince did not well know the Duke's Temper He was not so good a Christian, as to par don his Enemies; yet he was too am bitious not to pardon the Regent, pro vided the would fet him up higher in At thority and Reputation. Tell the Queen

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answer'd he to Bassompierre, that I only supplicate to her to be somewhat more constant for the future; to distinguish better, and continue her good Servant. At length Bassompierre propos'd to the Regent, she would be pleas'd to give leave that her Ministers of State might come back to Court again. He offered to speak for Villeroy and Feannin; but as for what concern'd the Chancellor, the Regent was to declare her self to the Chevalier Sileri, Brother to this Magistrate.

It's needless to relate all the Particulars of Bassompierre's Negotiation: He had fo good Markets to make, as there was not much trouble to bring 'em to an end. The Duke of Guise, said Bassompierre, as first ranted according to bis Custom, but afterwards be confented to all. His Lady Dutchess, who was made use of in this Affair, did not make many Words to make him accept of a good Sum of Money. The Duke of Epernon ask'd nothing better, than to have a Share in the Government. This haughty ambitious Man faw, with Pleasure, that they thought him the most proper Person to break up a puissant Faction, contriv'd by the first Prince of the Blood and Grandees of the Realm. The Two Dukes faw the Queen the next Morning in private, to both of their Satisfactions. Q 4

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As for these Ministers of State, they were not less tractable. These Gentle-State recall' d men were too much discontented to lose The Chancellor and Viltheir Credit. leroy were at odds, but quickly reconcil'd. Feannin had a Commission to give the Queen a Visit in the Name of these Three, in Luxembourgh House, whither the repair'd every Day to see the fine Palace the had begun to build, and the pleasant Gardens she was planting. The secret Discourse which the Queen had with the President Jeannin, caus'd many Thoughts in the Marechal de Ancre, who was come to Luxemburgh House. His Surprisal was yet greater, when the Officer of the Queen's Guards would not let him come near to her, because she had given express Order, to hinder whomsoever he was that came, from interrupting her, whilft the was talking to the Prefident Feannin.

> Conchini from that time began to fear some new Revolution at Court; he did not doubt of it farther, when he law the next Evening the Queen give the Duke of Epernon a Thousand Marks of distinction. She caus'd a Chair to be brought for him, and plac'd next to her, under pretence that he

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he was newly recover'd from a great 1613. Sickness. They discours'd a long time together. She invited him to see a Play; and order'd a Chair to be brought for him and Zamet, the Duke's great Friend, who bore him Company, without giving the least Attention to the Duke of Mayenne, who was there present. Conchini swore bloodily; and considering how the Scene was alter'd, said, I laugh at the Affairs of this World. The Queen takes care of a Seat for Zamet, and never takes notice of the Duke de Mayenne. After such a Stir as this, depend, if ye will, upon the Friend-ship of Princes.

Mary of Medicis was then the most fatisfied Princess in the World: The very Day that the was reconcil'd to the Duke of Guife and Epernen, was, in her Opinion, the most difficult and weightiest Day of her Life. This is a Play, faid the, with a many Intrigues in it; at the end we have nothing but Peace and Rejoycing. Whilft the was in fo good a Humour, the plentifully bestow'd her Liberalities. The Duke of Guise was secured of an Hundred the land Crowns; and that the Count of Rochefoucault should be call'd back to Court. The Chevalier de Guise got the Lieutenacy-General of Provence; and the Queen caus'd all Processes to cease which

were commenc'd against him. The Princels of Conti obtain'd the Reversion of the Abbey of St. Germain. At last Bassompierre was promis'd the Office of Chief Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber.

Confusion and Prince of Conde.

The Prince of Conde went next Morn-Troubles of the ing to Court : But what was his Amazement, when he found the Queen thut up in her Closet with the Ministers of State without suffering any one to open the Door to him! After a great many Reflections upon this sudden Accident, the crafty Bal sompierre infinuated, That the Marshal d Bouillon might have put a Trick upon his Highness in this Occasion, and have made his Peace with the Queen and the Ministers of State, leaving the Prince in the Lurch. This Suspicion seem'd likely of nough to poor Condé; who went Arait a way to the Marquis d'Ancres, for to con fider together upon this Conjuncture, and found him no less cast down than himsel was, at the good Understanding that wa between the Queen and her Ministers State, and the new Favour of the Duke Guise and d'Epernon.

> The Death of the young Baron de Lu Sain in a Duel by the Chevalier de Guife

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did not make a less noise in the World; 1613. though the Court did not so much bestir it The young Bafelf about it, as about the Murder of his will am a Father. The Guises were at that time in Duel by the Favour with the Regent. Luz, the Son Chevalier de of him whom I but now fpoke of, inftru-Guite. cted in the falle Maxims of the French Nobility, thought himself to be bound in Honour to require Satisfaction for his Father's Death. A Month after he fent a Challenge to the Chevalier de Guise, by a Gentleman named du Riol. Sir, imported the Mercure Challenge, you ought to be the only and Francois, trusty Witness of my just Grief. Pardon 1613. then, I pray you, if I require you, by this Note, to fee you with Sword in Hand, for to have an Account from you of my Father's Death. The good Opinion I have of your Bravery and Courage, makes me hope you will make no use of your Quality for an Excuse to grant me a Request which Honour exacts from you. This Gentleman will shew you the Place where I shall be with a good Horse. I have Two Swords, you shall have the choice of them. If you won't come hither, I'll go where-e'er you shall command me. Chevalier de Guise was in Bed when du Riol gave him the Challenge. He quickly dress'd himself; and taking the Chevalier Griguan to be his Second, they went all Three to the Place where the young Baron expected them. After the usual Formalities in premeditated Duels, the Four

1613.

fought with their Swords on Horseback. Guise was wounded at the first Pass; but at the third he run Luz quite through, who fell from his Horse in a little time after. Grignan could not make his Part so good with du Riol, who had given him Two great Thrusts with his Rapier. The Chevalier de Guise ran speedily to help him; and du Riol, seeing Luz at Death's Door, made the best of his Way. that the Court Bravo's went to faid. congratulate the Chevalier de Guise upon this Atchievement; which, in the Sense of all reasonable Men, he ought to be rather ashamed of. He had barbaroufly kill'd the Father, to rid his House of a Man who was a Thorn in their fide. Though the Rule of false Honour did not allow him to deny the Son the Satisfaction he required, yet this second Homicide was not less Criminal than the former before God and Men, who have a right and found Apprehension of things. One should be so far from applauding this wretched Murtherer, as he ought to be look'd upon with Horror, who after having unjustly kill'd the Father, was drawn on into the unfortunate Necessity of killing the Son, blinded by his just Resentment, and hurried on by the Evil Custom of the Times. That which is more aftonishing is, that Mary de Medicis sent to visit the Chevalier de Guise after this second Duel,

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Duel, and ask how he did after his 1613. Wound; the who but few Weeks be-Memoire de fore had commanded the Parlement to Baffompierre prosecute him in less than eight Days for the first Duel.

Behold how this weak and imprudent Queen executed the Declarations publish'd by her Son and under her Directions, at the beginning of the Year, against Duels. The precedent Kings had tried to abolish this pernicious and abominable Cuftom without ever being able to compass their Defign. Lewis XIII. was more vigorous in the matter in the last Years of his Reign. Let us not deny his Son the just Praise he deserves in this Cafe. His Severity has almost compleated what his Predecessors undertook. but could never bring about. This is the best, and perhaps, the only good Action he has done in fifty fix Years of his Reign. If the Justice of Men let the Chevalier de Mercure Guise go unpunished, yet this false Brave Francos can't escape God's Judgment. The fol-1514. lowing Year, being at the Castle de Banx, five Leagues from Arles in Provence, he would needs himself fire a Cannon, which burst asunder. He receiv'd such a Wound from a Splinrer of it, as he died in two Hours after: Time, God wot, short enough for Preparation to appear before the terrible Revenger of Blood unjust-

ly spilt. His Name was, Francis Paris de 1613. Lorraine.

The Death of the Duke of Mantua. New Defigns Savoy upon this Accident.

Affairs abroad disquieted the Regent as well as the Commotions at home. Francu Duke of Mantua, her Nephew, died of the Duke of the latter end of the precedent Year. He left behind him by Margaret his Wife of the House of Savoy, and Daughter of Charles Emanuel, but one Daughter about four Years of Age. Ferdinand Cardinal de Gonzagua, Brother to Francis, succeeded without any Contest, to the Dutchy of Mantua. But Montferrat not being a Fief Male, it was to descend to the young Princess of Mantua. This Marquisate, formerly given by the Emperor Otho to a Saxon Lord, had fallen fince into the Poffession of two different Houses. The Paleologues first got into it by the Marriage of Yoland, an Heiress of the Line of Saxony, with Andronicus Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople. Theodorus, their second Son, having had Montferrat for his Share, his Issue Male were in Possession of this Fee of the Western Empire, till for want of fuch Heirs, the House of Gonzagus came to inherit it, by Vertue of a Marriage of Margaret Poleclogus with Frederick Duke of Mantua

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The Duke of Savoy disputed the Succesfion with the Family of the Gonzagua's. There is faid they, an ancient Agreement made between Theodorus Paleologus and Edmund Comte de Savoy. That when the Line Male of the Paleologues should be at an end, the Issue Male of Toland his Daughter, and of Edmund of Savoy, whom the had married, should inherit Montferrat; preferrably to the Daughters of the Family of the Paleologues, who might only pretend to a Portion suitable to their Charles Emanuel had other Quality. Pretentions to a part of Montferrat, by Virtue of the Will of Blanche Paleologus, married into the House of Savoy. She made Duke Charles II. Heir of a part of Montferrat, which she laid claim to, and of what was besides due to her for her Jointure. The Sum was but Fourscore Thousand Crowns; but the Interest for a long time added to the Principal, made it amount almost to a Million of Livres. This occasioned a very long Sute between the Houses of Savoy and Gonzaga. Instead of ending the Process by a Definitive Sentence, the Emperor Charles V. made the Affair more perplex'd. He, to content both Parties, awarded the Possession of Montferrat to the House of Mantua, and left, as they were, the Preten1613.

Pretentions of Savoy, by Virtue of a Teflamentary Donation of Blanche Paleologus.

The Marriage of the last deceased Duke Francis with Margaret of Savey was at last concluded, with defign to put an end to all the Differences of both Houses. In favour of this Alliance Charles Emanuel gave up all his Pretensions to his Daughter, and the Children begotten of her, if the thould have any. 'Twas agreed likewife on both fides, that a Line should be drawn to divide, as equally as possible could be, the two Princes Estates which ran into one another. But this Division being made, the Duke of Savoy was minded to renew his ancient Rights: infomuch as he was not fo ready to maintain the Pretentions of Mary his Grandchild for Montferrat, as his own.

Artifices of the Duke of Savoy. As foon as he had heard of the Duke of Mantua's Death, he fent two Perfons, whom he chiefly rely'd upon, not so much to comfort his Daughter, as to instruct her in what she was to do in this prefent Conjuncture. The first counselled her to say she was with Child, to hinder Cardinal Gonzaga, who came in

in haste from Rome to put himself into Possession of the deceas'd Duke's Estate, his Brother. Margaret was extreamly fix'd on the Interest of her House; and Charles Emanuel had taken care to breed up his Children upon an entire dependance on their Father; so that the young Widow was eafily brought over to counterfeit her felf big with Child. Amedaus, Prince of Piedmont, went in Perfon to Mantua, under pretence of vifiting his afflicted Sifter; but he had fecret Orders from his Father to take her out of Mantua, with her Daughter, to Turin, or Milan; or, laftly, to Montferrat; of which Place the Princess Mary was Heirels. It is not convenient, said Victor Amedeus to the Court of Mantua, for a difconsolate Widow to live in a Place, where be constantly finds Objects to venew ber Sorow; and Decency will no more permit ber o be with the Cardinal ber Brother-in-Law, who is not much older than she, and ath so great Interest for the Succession of Mantua. He besides ought to wish it fo, or his own Reputation. Would be make imself responsible for all the Accidents hich might happen to the Mother or the Daughter? My Sifter, continued he, ought lo to take along with her the young Prines; she can't be in better Hands: Natual Right gives to Mothers the Education of heir Children: They can take more care of me them.

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1613. them, and be more tender of them than any other Person.

The Cardinal Ferdinand understood very well, that the Savoyards thought of nothing more, than making fure to themfelves Montferrat, under the Name of the Pupil who was in their Hands, or at least, at the disposal of John Mendoza, Marquels of Inojofa, Governor of the Milanese, their good Friend. Therefore the Cardinal alledg'd several Reasons to hinder his Sifter-in-Law and his Niece, from going out of the States of Mantua. Is it Reasonable, answer'd Ferdinand, that me (hould suffer the Princess to go away, who perhaps may quickly bring an Heir capable to make this Country happy? The Princes of the House of Gonzaga are ordinarily born, where they are to Govern; and is it not more convenient for my Niece to be brought up in a Country, where we shall endeavour n make her some time a Sovereign Mistress, by Marrying her to the Heir of the House of Man tua? If the fight of my Deceased Brother's Pa lace troubles too much his Widow, we have other places whither she may retire for he Pleasure, with all imaginable Liberty.

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With as much Zeal and Artifice. He per funded

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fuaded, that they would not confent to entrust with him the Heiress of Montferrat, caused it to be reported at Inojosa, that the was the King of Spain's Grandchild, that his Catholick Majefty was interes't to get her out of her Uncles Hands by the Father fide; that they should before-hand beware of the Cardinal, from whom the carried away with her the Succession of a rich Marquisate; that Philip III. was to take fo much the more care of the Princess Mary; that it was of great concern to his Majesty, that Montferrat should be in the possession of a House, which might be the best agreeable to him; Laftly, that it was to be feared, left the Gonzagues should marry their Niece into France, with the Son of the Duke of Nevers, their near Relation.

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These Reasons, t'was said, backt with The Governor some Presents which Charles Emanuel had of Milan desent to the Marquess Inojosa, engaged mands the this Governor to send the Prince d'Ascoli est of Mantua to Mantua with a great Retinue, to de-and her mand of the Cardinal the Widow Dutchess and her Daughter. Such a Proposal at first surprised him, but recovering himself a little, he found an Expedient which broke the Measures of the Prince of Piedmont, and the Envoy of the Governor of Milan. T'n true, answer'd Ferdinand,

be related to the King of Spain, but he bath this likewise, of being the Emperor's and Queen of France's Niece. I can't disdispose of her, without the consent of their Majesties. Besides, the Dutchess my Sister in-Law, and I, are at difference about the Tutelage of her Children. It belongs to the Emperor, on whom our Estates depend, a judge which of our two Rights are best grounded. The Prince of Piedmont and d'Ascoli departed after this Answer, whether

fpeaking more resolutely.

was that the respect they had for so gree a Name, stopt their Mouths, or that the had not taken necessary Measures so

The Regent of France oppofeth the defigns of the Duke of Savoy.

The Marquess Trenel was at Turin, the behalf of Mary de Medicis, when the News was received there of the Death the Duke of Maneua. Amongst the Com plements of Condolence to Charles Ema nuel, upon this trouble for Accident which happen'd in his Family; Trenel, as from himself infinuated into the diffemblin Savoyard, who fain'd to talk of the Cour of Spain, that his most Christian Majest had fo good Intentions for the House Mantua, as he would never fail to tak it into his Protection, and Oppose with the force of his Arms, those who should underrake to offer violence to his nes Relati

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Relations. Charles Emanuel well under- 1613. food this Discourse concern'd him, more han it regarded the Spaniards. He then aying afide his ordinary Diffimulation. inswer'd frankly, that he hop't from the Equity of the King, and his Mother Queen, their Majesties wou'd not take it I, if he maintain'd, in case he was forc't it, the Right of his Children to the states of the House of Manqua, My Daughten is big with Child, proceeded be. nd don't we know, but that fle may be rought to bed of a Son? Be it what it will, be Princess Mary is the undoubted Heiress Montferrat, If the House of Gonzaga ill do any Injustice to the Mother or Danghr, am not I in a necessity to take their Inrests? I can't be perswaded, that his most bristian Majesty, whom I have always ro'd the best a was possible for me, would osect upon this occasion, Persons, who would he away Mine and my Childrens Rights, Phatever comes on's, if Men fail to do Juice, we fall have Recourse to the Soveign Judge of the World, and me trust he is be favourable to us. Such is the Lanpage of Princes, when they are going on unjustifiable Actions, Gaffier Refient from France at the Court of Savoy d Orders to speak more positively to e Duke, and declare to him, that the areschal Lesdiguieres, should have an my ready to march forward into Italy.

as foon as there should be any Attempt 1613. against the House of Mantua, which the Crown of France took under its Protection. The French being gone to Mantua, to make his Complements of Condolence, in behalf of the King of France, and the Queen his Mother, to the Cardinal, upon the Death of the late Duke, gave the same Assurance by the Queen's Order. This did not a little serve to secure Ferdinand, whom these Affairs had put into great perplexity.

He was to expect fome Succours from

The Popes Conduct in the Affairs of Mantua.

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the Pope, whose chief Interest is to main tain peace in Italy; but the fearful and interessed old Man, acted but weakly is this matter. However urgent Breves, th French Ambassador at the Court of Rome was with Paul V. for to ftir him up t recondite. To. prevent the Troubles which this Contro III. pag. 16, Versie might raise in Italy; no other an fwer could be got from him, than the the Queen of France ought to press th Catholick King, to fend a precise Orde to the Governor of Milan, not to bad the Pretentions of the Duke of Savoy. The Pope secretly gain'd over by the Spaniards, to whom he was wholly devote and who at first flatter'd themselves making an Advantage of the Ambition Charles Emanuel, had Counsell'd the Ca

din

ot dinal of Mantua, to fend the Mother and Daughter to Milan. And when it was no proposed to him, to take them both to to Boulogne, under the Care and Protection of the Holy Chair, he excused himself of the this; for that Charles Emanuel had no considerate in him. At length Breves having on fidence in him. At length Breves having the told Paul, that it was however expected from his love for the common good of di- Italy, that he should oppose his Spiritual and Temporal Arms against the Duke of Savoy, in case he attempted to attack with open Force, the Cardinal of Mantua; the Pope answer'd in General Terms, that he would follow the Dictates of his own Conin cience, and do as God should inspire him;
in usual Evasion of these Gentlemen, who
is hearken to their Interests and Passions,
the more than to the Voice of the Holy Spirit.
The Pope Paul spoke with more Sincerity,
when in Reference to this same Affair of
Mantua, he said, that he would not medan ille with the concern of Princes, who had no regard for his Authority; and the uch indeed are the Sentiments of the great Personages, who are of the Popes and Communion. They all of 'em know, that this is but Usurpation, Deceit and Pageantry; yet in the Interim, I cannot, and understand by what politick Interest, all s these Princes who are under the Popes Qpedience, keep still in with him. These magine, whether it be good or bad, that

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certain occasions, and the Court of Rome crafty to make an Advantage of their so beneficial prejudicate Opinions, think that they are quit with 'em, if from time to time they wipe off, and connive at some disdainful Aspersions, whilst they can preserve their Revenues and a Spiritual Power over the Ignorant and Superstitious People, without which, the Pontifical Chair could have no long continuance or Duration.

The States of The Venetians upon this Occurrency venice fland were less Fearful, and more Wife than by the Cardi- the Pope; for these able States-men forenal of faw too well, the Consequences of the Mantua. Affair of Mantua, and eafily discover'd where the Artifices of the Duke of Savor drove at. The Senate therefore took particular care to encourage Cardinal Ferdinand, and gave him the best Advice, for not to fuffer himfelf to be furpris'd unawares. The Republick did moreover Nani Hift. Venes. Lib. Negotiate very effectually both at Vienna, and at the Court of France, to perfuade 1. 1613. those Princes to oppose the fecret Defigns of the Spaniards, and the undertakings of Charles Emanuel. Matthias the Emperor did as much instruct his Kinsman the King of Spain, as any other Prince in Europe,

rais Jealoufie.

and the Cardinal de Cleffel kept him in

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Book IV. LEWIS XIII.

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Being both perswaded that the Spaniards design'd rather to Ruine, than to Support the Authority of the Emperor in Italy. Upon this account Matthias did not make any difficulty to chuse the Cardinal of Mantua for the Guardian of the Children of the late Duke, and to dispense with his Age, he not being old enough according to the Common Laws, to be their Guardian.

At length after Three months pretence, Ferdinand, he Dutchess Margarite declared, the was Cardinal of not with Child; and Ferdinand de Gonza- takes upon we took the Quality of Duke of Mantua. him the Ti-The Prince of Piedmont came to fetch his tle of Duke Sifter, and Conduct her to Turin. Isabella of Mantua. of Savoy, another Daughter of Charles Emanuel, Married to Cafar d'Este Duke of Modens, came also to Mantua, that so she hight have a meeting with the Prince of fiedmont her Brother, and the Dutchess Margarita Ler Sister. This was a new ontrivance of Charles Emanuel. The Nani Hillodarriage of the Cardinal, Duke of Man-ria Veneta. ua was thought a proper expedient to Lib. I. ompose all Differences: 'Twas proposed, Siri Memond Ferdinand did not feem very averse to rierecondite. Margarita thought by shedding a few Tom. III. ears, 'twould be easie to work upon her P. 52, 53, over, and to obtain leave of him to 54. &c. he Cardinal might have some inclinatins for Margarita, yet his love was not fo iolent as to overcome all those Reasons

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which

which engaged him not to part with his Niece. The Prince of Piedmont feeing him resolute in this point, thought fit to try another method, which was this; that the Dutchess Dowager should retire to Modena with her Daughter, till the proposed Marriage should be Consummated; but in case it should be broke off, the should go alone to Turin; and that Cafar de Este should be obliged by promise to fend back the Princess Mary to Mantua,

re-demand her.

New efforts Savoy, to fetch the Princess Mary his

ter from Mantua.

Ferdinand was caught in the Snare: of the D. of Whether it was that his Ministers were bribed, or that he had not quickness of apprehension enough to receive it; the Cardinal imprudently accepted the pro-Grandaugh-posal, which his Enemies made him: When the Ministers of France had no tice of it, they admonisht Ferdinand, tha if his Niece should once go out of his hands, 'twould be impossible for him to get her again, and that the Duke of Me dena would be so confined by the artifices of Charles Emanuel, and the Marqui d'Inojosa, that he would not be able u restore her, tho he should be willing to

if the Emperor or Cardinal Duke should

do it. They added farther, if you should marry any one but Margarita, and it should please God, you have any Children, who perpetual idisputes will there be between then and the Heiress of one part of the Estates of

your Family ?

Have

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Have you duly weighed all these inconveniencies ? This Remonstrance opened the Cardinal Dukes Eyes; but he had given his Word, and he could not tell how to go back. The Ministers of France, and the Venetians helpt him out by perswading the Duke of Modena, not to charge himfelf with a Trust which was like to enrangle him in a great deal of trouble and vexation: So that the Prince of Piedmont fet out for Turin with his Sifter Margarita, he being very much grieved to leave her Daughter behind her. They came to Milan in the holy Week. The Governor nvited them to spend those days of Devotion there: But Victor Amadeus and nojosa had something else to mind than Holy-days. The latter sent immediately o Modena to engage Este, to charge himelf with the Datchess and Princess of Mantua, which according to Agreement vere to be committed to his Care: And when they were fure of the Duke of Andena, the Captain of the Governor's Suards was sent to Mantua, in Inojosa's lame, to defire the Cardinal Duke to be s good as his Word. Ferdinand, who id not expect thus to be importuned aresh, had no other way to come off, but poul o retract what he had faid. He alwhat edged for his excuse, that he could not

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AXA 1613. S

o his Guardianship. The Tirular Bishop

eliver up his Niece without the consent f the Emperor, who had committed her

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of Diocesarea was sent to Milan, to make up the business with the Governor. Fer-1612. dinand ordered this Prelate to go likewife as far as Verceil, whither Charles Emanuel was advanced, under a pretence of coming to meet his Daughter Margarita, but really with a defign to execute a Project

which he had in his Head. The ambiti The Bishop of Diocesarea had power ous Projects

Savoy.

of the D. of to Negotiate the Marriage proposed between the Cardinal Duke and his Sifter in Law. The Diffembling Savoiard some times seemed to listen to this Expedient, but he had no defire to bring the matter to a conclusion. The opportunity which he had of feizing on Monferrat, was too good to be neglected : Charles Emanue plainly told the Bishop of Diocesarea, that he would not give up the pretentions of the House of Savoy to Monferrat in fa your of the Match; he demanded back again not only the Jewels which his daughter had carried into the Family of Gonzague, but also those which her Hus band had presented her with. The Can dinal Dake refused to restore the latter and Charles Emanuel full of great expects tions, defigned nothing, but to fatisfie his Ambition.

> He pleased himself with the thought of having time to effect his Enterprize before the Princes of Italy would be wakened out of that Sleep, long and profound Peace had brought up

Book IV. LEWIS XIII

on them. The watchful Eye which the Republick of Venice had upon every thing that was doing in their Neighbourhood, gave him some Disturbance: But he imagined that if they did not approve of his Invasion, yet they would stand by, and look on, rather than engage in a War. As for the Emperor, he did not much concern himself about it : The Authority of the Empire in Italy is but a vain Title without Power. The two Crowns were more to be feared. But the Duke thought Maria de Medicis, having her hands full by reason of the Factions of the Princes and great Men at home, could not fend any mighty Affistance to the House of Mantua. And then he hoped to curry favour at the Court of Madrid, by means of the Governour of Milan, his Friend: Besides, there were at that time no Troops in those parts; and it would require time to bring them thither: However, he thought the fear of bringing the French into Italy, would make the Court of Madrid backward to declare it self either one way or the other. And this is the very thing, which would have checkt Charles Emanuel, if he had not been blinded by his Ambition.

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For indeed his Catholick Majesty fearing nothing more, than that the French should have any pretence to carry their Arms into Italy; his business was to take care that the Duke of Savoy should not

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405 1613. The History of Book IV

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tacque the House of Maneua, which 1613. France would not fail to take under its Protection.

The Duke of Charles Emanuel affembles his Troops as Savoy in- fecretly as he can, and parts from Verceil wades Mon-the 22th of April 1613. to enter Monferierrat.

rat with his Army: He presently sur-

rat with his Army: He presently furprizes feveral places; others being not prepared to make any Refistance, Surrender: fo that within a few days, he was Master of all the Province except Casal. He had also took this important Town, and the rest of the Marquisat, if Charles of Gonzague Duke of Nevers in France, had not happily been in Italy at the time of his Invation; whether it was upon the account of affifting the Cardinal Duke with his Advice, and with his Sword if there should be occasion, or whether he pretended to Negotiate at Rome and at Venice, about an imaginary descent into the Morea, which he had defigned; he undertook to Conduct to Florence his Sifter in Law, Daughter of the late Duke of Maienne, married to the Count of Saintfiore, Son of the Duke of Sforce. When-Nevers was arrived on the Coasts of Genoa, he received Letters, which invited him in the Name of the Nobility of Monferrat, to come immediately to their affistance, to stop the progress of the Arms of the Duke of Savoy. Nevers went away presently with some Soldiers, which he got together, and with the affiftance of a good

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good Guide he luckily entred Casal, which the Cardinal Duke had made as strong as he could. Vincent de Gonzague the Cardinal's Brother hasted towards that place at the same time, and in his Passage thro Milan, he endeavoured to convince Inojosa of the secret designs of the Enemy of their Family, who slattered himself that the Conquest of Monferrat would facilitate that of Milan one day, which was a thing he had long ago contrived.

All Italy was allarmed at the report of This Enterthe March of Charles Emanuel. 'Twas prize occasinot doubted but Inojosa was privy to his commotions Designs, tho' he took particular care o- in Italy.

penly to condemn the Dukes Enterprize.

And tho' the Governor inveighed against him, fent Circular Letters to the Princes of Italy, and writ to France, declaring that the King his Mafter disapproved the Action of the Savoyard, and that his Catholick Majesty would vigorously oppose all those that troubled the Repose of Italy. All the World believed that Charles Emanuel and he understood one another, and that he had received confiderable Presents from him. And 'tis a question whether the Marquiss of Bedmar, Ambassador of Spain at Venice, was more fincere in the Protestations which he made to the Seigniory, implying that Philip would willingly concur with them in fecuring the quiet of Italy, that the Cardinal Duke should be re-established in his Posses407

1613.

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Possession of Monferrat, and that Charles 1613. Emanuel should be punishe for his Teme-

corrity.

When the Duke of Savoy's defigns were publickly known, the Republick of Venice represented to him, that they were furprized to fee him begin a War, which in all probability, would draw Foreign Forces into Haly, which must first pals through his Territories. These prudent Senators faid to him. There are some Conquests, which don't deserve to be bought with the loss of that Quiet and Tranquility, which a Prince enjoys. Have a regard to your Glory and to your Interest : You thus bazard the loss of the one, and expose your Country to be the Theatre of a War, the End of which perhaps you may not live to fee : France and Spain will Interest themselves; at least the will make themselves Arbiters in the Case. and you must submit to their Decision. Inflead of liftening to these wise Admonitions. Charles Emanuel ordered the Ambaffador of the Republick to leave him; but twas not long before the Ambitious Duke perceived he was engaged in an Enterprize, which was not like to prove Honourable to him in the Issue. The Venetians fent Three thousand Men for the preservation of Casal. The great Duke of Tuscany promised Two thousand Foot, and Two hundred Horse to the Cardinal Duke. The House of Mantua levied Three thousand Switzers; so that they hoped

hoped in a fhort time to be in a Condition to meet the Dake of Savoy, with Sixteen 1613. or Seventeen thousand Men; but things did not perfectly fucceed according to his Expectation. As for the Pope, he only promised his good Offices in order to a Peace. The Quality of Universal Father is of mighty use, when he thinks fit rather to Enrich his Family, than to

Succour an injured Prince.

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In the mean time they publish Mani- The Monifestoe's on both Sides. The Duke of D. of Savoy Savoy afferted, that the Guardianship of anathe Carthe Princels Mary belonged to the Dutchels dinal D. of her Mother; he infifted mightily on the Cardinal Dukes refuling to keep his word; Mercure and the excuse that that Prince could not Francoife. part with a Pupil, which the Emperor had committed to his Tutelage, was pretty well refuted; as indeed it was not a very good one. The Emperors Interpofition in that affair was defired by him, that so he might make use of it afterwards, as there should be occasion. And he had fufficiently explained himself as to that Point, when he promised to deliver back his Niece into the hands of the-Duke of Modena. Charles Emanuel laid forth his Pretentions to Monferrat; with as much boldness, as if they had been the: clearest and justest in the World. This is, the way of Ambitious Princes, Theyimagine that the World is eafily imposed on, and that Men will believe them upon-T 5. their

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their Word. As for the Cardinal Duke, he replied in his Manifesto, that the Dutchess his Sifter-in-Law not being of Age, the Law did not allow her to be Guardianess of her Daughter, and that Mothers forfeit the Guardianship of their Children, when they voluntarily withdraw from the Family and Dominions of their Husbands. From whence he concluded that Margarita, having earnestly defired to go to Turin, had thereby renounced her Guardianship of the Princess of Mantua. He endeavoured to make good the Emperor's committing her to his Care. But the Promise which he made, and broke afterwards, was fuch a Slurr upon him, that he could not possibly give it a good Colour : His best way had been ingeniously to have confest his Imprudence; fuch a false step costs a Prince Dear : The superannuated and extravagant Pretenfions to Monferrat are very well refuted. He did not fail to put the Duke of Savoy in mind of the Grant which he had made upon the Marriage of his Daughter with the late Duke Francis of Mantua, In which Point, he had been guilty of a far more confiderable Breach of his Word than that was, which Charles Emamuel made fuch a noise about : How could he have the Face to infift fo much upon the retractation of a surprized Man, who himfelf was the most Perfidious, and fallest Prince of his time.

At this time he Acted a Thousand parts to justifie his Conduct to the World, 1613. or at least to gain time in managing the two Crowns. Sometimes he proposed to Artifices fet the Arms of the King of Spain over do's of D. of the Gates of all the Towns which he had Savoy. taken in Monferrat, and to put them into the hands of his Majesty, on Condition, there should be a Garrison of Savoyards, Sometimes he offered to let Philip III. have Cafal, on Condition that the House of Savoy should remain in Possession of all the rest of Monferrat. When he writ to the Queen Regent of France, he did it in the most submissive manner imaginable: he was ready to deliver up to her Majesty, all that he had taken from the House of Mantua.

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And when Charles Emanuel perceived that his pretended Submissions did him no kindness, he put on another Shape; he Hectored and Threatned all the World; Just as if all Europe had been at his Difposal. If the Spaniards required him to desist from his Enterprize, he answered them haughtily that he would fide with France. If the Pope urged him to make Peace, he talkt of calling to his affiftance an Army of Protestants into Italy. And, if the Republick of Venice pretended to affift the Cardinal Duke, he threatned them with nothing less than bringing the Turk against them, and covering the Adriatick Sea with Corfairs and Pirates.

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Sometimes, nevertheless he talkt of Peace, but his Proposals were so extravagant, that they could not be accepted, or elfe fo ambiguous, that no body could tell what he meant.

His Intrigues at France are discovered.

The Intrigues which this turbulent Spirit had formed in the Court of France, the Court of with some great Men there, gave him more Confidence than any thing elfe. He fent Couriers continually to the Mareschal de Lesdiguieres, his Friend, who Commanded in Dauphine by reason of the

Tom. III. page 81.

Non-age of the Count Soiffons. He made rie recondite Lesdiquieres believe that he did nothing without his Privity and Advice; that so he might get him into his Interests, and hinder him from obeying too punctually the Orders, the Queen Regent had fent him to affift her Nephews of Mantua, and amuse the Mareschal with divers Proposals of accommodation: Charles Emanuel held also a great Correspondence with the Duke of Bellegarde, one of the Malecontents of the Regency. The Government of Burgundy, in which he was fettled, might render him very useful to the Defigns of the Savoiard. In short, he had Agents and fecret Spies in the Court of France, who gave him notice of every thing, and who were neerly Allied to the Prince of Conde, the Male-contented Noblemen, and even the Marquis and Marchionels of Ancre, the most intimate Confidents of the Queen. Being exactly

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exactly informed of all that past at Court, and in the feveral Provinces; The Duke of Savoy flattered himself that Mary de Medicis being embarraft with Factions. which he managed with extraordinary application, would not be in a condition to let her thoughts run abroad; and that the would thortly be engaged in a Civil War.

And really, what care soever the Queen Memoires Regent took to secure her self of the de Bassom Duke of Guise, he still wavered, and the pierre. Prince of Conde was forward enough to take notice of it. The Duke of Vendome, Governour of Britagne had given his word to the Dutchess of Mercaur, his Mother-in-Law, that he would be faithful to the Queen: And nevertheless he grew into a great intimacy with Conde, before he fer out for Bretagne, whither he went to call together the States of that important Province. The Marshal of Bovillon. disgusted that he could not rise so high as he aspired, was the Man, who underhand endeavoured to take off the Duke of Guise from the deens Interests, and to strengthen the Prince of Conde's Party, that so Mary de Medicis might see her need of him, and buy him at a dearer rate. The Marquiss d'Ancre being earnestly bent upon the ruin of those Ministers, which the Cabel had a mind to undermine, went so far in that business, that the Queen Regent was obliged to threaten him with Banishment,

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. The History of Book IV.

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wif he did not break up the Cabal, and presently return to Court, from which he affected to be at a diftance, under a pretence of some Discontent. I am a Man of Honour, answered he to Bassompierre, when this Nobleman spake to him in the behalf of his Benefactress, The Queen thinks she may break her Word to People: for my own part, I'l be Faithful to Mr. the Prince, and those others, with which her Majesty has united me. The cunning Italian loved Conde no more than those Mis nifters, but being resolved to remove all those Princes and Noblemen that stood in his way, after he had driven from the Court all those which he thought had too great a share in the management of Affairs. The Ministers did not let slip so good an occasion of irritating the Queen against the Marquiss; they studiously aggravated the Ingratitude of a Man, whom the Queen had raised. Galigai his Wife was the first that exclaimed against him: But at the bottom there was a very good understanding between him and his Wife, they were both in the same Intrigues.

Their Enemys thought they had found out enough to be the Ruin of both without remedy. Gueffier the Resident of France in Savoy had discovered that the Dake had notice of all the fecret Paffages at Court, and that the Letters were directed to a certain Baron de la Roche of Dauphiny, whom Charles Emanuel often

Mercure Francoife. 1513.

kept company with, and I can't tell how, Gueffier had gotten a piece of a Letter 1613. written by the hand of the Duke of Savoy's Spie. He sent it back to France, to Memoires de be examined, to see if they could know de Marie de the Hand of this Person that sent secret Medicis. Advice. They suspected divers, and the Officers of the Post had Orders to seize him, who should bring Letters written by the same hand. The Queen Regent was then at Fontainbleau, where the was entertaining her felf with the Pleasures of the Spring. 'Twas there they seized a Dauphinois, by Name Magnac, as he was carrying to the Post a Letter addreffed to the Baron de la Roche; they examined him before the Queen's Council. Magnac accuses the Marquis and Marchioness d'Ancre; but above all, Dole their intimate Confident. The Ministers began to triumph hereupon. They boafted that Conchini and his Wife, or at least Dole thould never get clear of this unhappy affair. And certainly there was matter enough to ruin them entirely, if their Friends had The extreme not stood by them, and if they had had a Embarrass-Mistress more Advised, and less Indulgent ment of the than Maria de Medicis. d' Ancre,

Bassompierre had dextrously gotten all which he the Secret out of Lomenie the Secretary broughthim-of State, something of which the Queen intrigueing had before told him. He thought he was with the D. obliged immediately to advertize Conchini of Savoy. of it whom he looked on as his Friend. de Bassom.

The pierre.

1613.

The Marquis d'Ancre denied that he knew Magnac, and affected to speak without any concern. Baffompierre being fatisfied that he had performed a good Office to a Man, that might make his advantage of it if he pleased, left the Marquifs, and took a walk along the Canal of Fountainbleau. But Conchini reflecting upon the notice that had been given him, he presently sent to enquire for Bassompiere: They shut themselves up in a Gal-Iery, and Conchini being uneafie, having walkt fometime without faying any thing Cried out all of a suddain in his odd Language, half French and half Italian, I am Ruin'd, Mr. Baffempierre, The Ministers my Enemies have got the better of me with the Queen. Then he wept bitterly, and threw out a thousand Execrations Bassompierre suffered him to torment himfelf for some time. After the Marquiswas a little come to himself, he said thus to him. Sr. your business now is to take a good Resolution. The favour of the Queen may be a great stay to you against your Enemies. They can never hinder her from hearing you make your Defence if you are Innocent. But if your Conscience reproaches you with any thing, rather retire to your Government of Amiens. Let your Wife and Friends do what they can; they will find a favourable moment to appeale the Queen.

Conchini, who knew himself guilty, at present thought it the best way to secure

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his Person in Amiens, to which Place Bassompierre was willing to accompany him. But Dole fearing he should be Ruined, if the Marquis d'Ancre left the Court, perswaded him to change his Refolution. He had recourse to the Goodnels of the Queen, who too much doted on Leonora, Conchini's Wife. The Queen was not very backward to forgive them this Trick. The Commissioners who examined Magnac, gave in an account very favourable of the Marquiss and Marchionels. Mazurier and Mangor, whom they had made their Friends, did them good Service in this Rencounter. And these mercenary Souls were well Paid for their Pains. Each of them was advanced to be a First President. Mazurier was named for the Parliament of Tholouse, and Mangot for that of Bourdeaux. Names of Conchini and his Wife, were suppressed in the Proceedings of the Lieutenant du Prevot de l'Hotel against Magnac; and this wretch, which had not the greatest share in the Guilt, was broke upon the Wheel alive at Fontainbleau.

This being a certain proof, that the The Minis-Marquis and Marchionels of Ancre were sters renew so well settled in the good graces of the their Friend Queen, that nothing could make them the Marquis Forfeit her Favour: The Ministers took d'Ancrea Resolution to come to an Agreement. with Conchini. The President Jeannin, who had always carried himself well e-

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Memoirs de Bassompierre.

nough towards the Favourite, proposed to the Queen the Reconciliation of Villeroi and the Chancellor, with the Marquis, She defired nothing more than to Reunite her People, in order to oppose the contrary Party, There was a propofal made of a Match between Conchini's Daughter and the Marquis of Villerois Grandson to the Secretary of State. at the same time the Ministers promised this Favourite, who was all along endeavouring to Raife himself upon their Ruin, that they would affift him in all his Enterprizes, and contribute their utmost for the making his Fortune as great as he Bassompierre who had done could wish. fuch Service, both for the Ministers and Conchini, complained, that they coming to an Agreement, without his having a hand in it, both united in their endeavours to turn him out of the Queen's Favour : They made the Queen so Jealous of Bafsompierre's Conduct, that despairing to obtain any thing of her, he was upon the Point of leaving the Court of France, and going to feek his Fortune elsewhere. Baffompierre's good Friends, especially the Duke of Guife and the Princess of Conti, spoke so effectually to the Queen Regent, that her Majesty gave him good words to Retain him. The Princels of Conti wou'd · not lose her Lover, and the Duke of Guise was perswaded by a long Experience, that Baffompierre was serviceable to him, The

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The Queen Regent was not so taken up with these Intrigues at Court, that she 1613. did not at all reflect upon foreign Affairs. That of Monferrat seemed to her the most They resolve important, that was likely to come into of France. her hands during the Administration to fend pow-But her Majesty would not come to any erful Suc-Resolution without the Advice of the cours to the Princes, and all the Principal Men of the Mantua. Kingdom. Here was an opportunity to Memoires recall to Court the Prince of Conde, and de la Rethe other Heads of the Party. They had Marie de withdrawn one after another, very much Medicis. disgusted that the Queen was Reconciled to the Duke of Guise and d'Espernon, and that the had called back the Ministers. They presently agreed to send Two thoufand Men to Cafal, under the Command Historie du of the Chevalier de Guise, who should Connerable Embark in Provence, to pass by Savone into de Lesdi-Monferrat. And the Court of France be-Liv. VIIL ing perswaded that the Governor of Mi-Ch. 4. 6 5 lan privately fided with the Duke of Savor, or at least that the Spaniards would make their Advantage of this Quarrel, refolv'd to fend Three Armies to attacque Charles Emanuel in three different Places. Mareshal de Lesdiguieres was to march the greatest through Dauphine into Pied-Siri Memaimonr. The Duke of Guise had the least re recondite confiderable, to attacque the Savoyard on p. 92. 93. the Side of Provence. Lastly, the Third &c. was defigned to make an Irruption through Burgundy, under the Command of Bellegarde.

1613.

They diswade the Queen Regent from sending so speedy Succour to the Cardinal Duke. Nani Historia Veneta. Lib. 1.

1613.

As foon as this was concluded on in the Queens Council, The Dutchess of Never went away to Grenoble, to engage the Marquis of Lesdiguières to march with all speed. But the earnest defire, which the Queen Regent at first discovered to Suc cour her Nephews, grew cool by degree The secret Friends of the Duke of Save cunningly represented to her Majesty that 'twas dangerous to truft great Men with Armies under their Command, during a Minority, and to place a Mareschal of France an Huguenot, at the Head of Ubaldini the the most considerable. Popes Nuncio was on their side, for fear the Arms of France should make too great advances in Italy, and that Lesdiguieres thould bring too many Protestants along with him; of which the Court of Rome has been always very Jealous. The cunning Italian, with some others endeavoured to perswade the Queen, yet fearful and irrefolute, that it was not necessary to be hafty in carrying the Arms of France into Piedmont; fince the King of Spain bimself intended to oppose the Duke of Savey, and to take care, that what the House of Mantua had loft in Monferrat, should be restored. Said they, Madam, if you fend powerful Aids to the Cardinal Duke, that step will create a jealousie of you, in King Philip. Then he'l affift the Duke of Savoy, and so of Course you must break with Spain. Had not your Majesty better threaten

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wou'd not that be sufficient to stop a Prince, 1613.
who has began a War, which be can never maintain, without the assistance of one Crown or the other. By these infinuations the Queen was perswaded to suspend the march of the Armies, till she should see, how affairs went at the Court of Madrid.

The Spaniards having feriously consi-The R. of dered the confequences of those Commo-Spain detions, which the ambition of the Duke of gainst theD. Savoy had raised in Italy and other Places; of Savoy. his Catholick Majefty resolved in good earnest to oppose the deligns of this restless and turbulent Prince. He fent his Secretary Vargas to Milan, to declare plainly to Charles Emanuel, that if he would not consent to restore the Towns he had taken in Monferrat, that Philip. would force him to it. Besides that the Duke of Lerma hated the Duke of Savor, this Minister did not care for War; whether it were, that he thought Peace more proper for the Conservation of his Authority, or whether he was willing to conform himself to the calm and pacifique temper of his Prince.

So that Charles Emanuel is in worse Siri Memoiconfusion than ever. He had pretended re recondite to listen to some proposals of accommodation, which Massimi the Popes Nuncio Nani Histohad made him in the Name of the Pope. ria Veneta-Vistor Amedeus, Prince of Piedmont was also gone to Milan to Negociate that Af-

fair :

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fair: But his Father always found some occasion, when the matter was near being concluded. And even at that very time, when the Duke appeared inclined to Peace. He endeavoured to carry on his Conquests in Monferrat, Althô France and Spain then threatned him equally, and the Princes of Italy had almost all declared against him; yet he was not daunted, but fteddily resolved to make a new Effort to lay the Storm, which roared on both Sides of him. He fent out of hand the Prince of Piedmont to Madrid to represent his Rights to the Catholick King, and he engaged his Brother, the Duke of Nemours, to make a Journey into France, to bring over the Queen Regent, if he could, or at least, to oppose the Duke of Maienne, who made a powerful Interest in favour of the House of Mantua. But they had less Respect for him in Spain, than they had in France; when Victor Amadem arrived in Catalonia, the King let him know, that he forbid him to pass any farther, till he should receive news of his Father's submission to his Majesty's last Orders.

The Emperor Commands the D. of Savoy to desist from his Enterprize- upon Monierrat. re recondite To. III. p. 84. 85. OG.

According to the Project of Accommodation proposed by the Pope's Minister, the Duke of Savey was to deliver up to his Holiness, the Places, which he had Possession of in Monferrat. At this, the Siri Memoi- Court of Vienna took offence. And indeed, the Marquisat being a Fief of the Empire,

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Empire, It belonged to the Emperor to decide the Controversie and to be the Seque- 1613. fter, preferably to all others. Matthias therefore fent Orders to the Prince of Castiglione his Commissary in Italy, to go to Turin, and tell Charles Emanuel, that he should immediately raise the Siege, he had laid before Nice de la Paille, a Town of Monferrat, and consent to the suspension of Arms, which his Imperial Majefty had ordered on both Sides, upon pain of forfeiting the Emperor's Protection and that he must with all speed lay down his Arms, to diffipate the Jealousies which his Enterprize had given him. But as the Emperor pretended to be the sole Judge of a Controversie concerning a Fief of the Empire, so the King of Spain, he too, would be the Arbiter without the concurrence either of the Empire or of France. All these incidents, pleased Charles Emanuel. What with Criticizing on some of the Articles that were proposed to him, and expecting till the Competition should be decided, he had time to push on his Conquests in Monferrat.

The Prince of Castiglione tired with the delays of the Duke of Savoy, publisht a Proclamation in the Name of the Emperor ; where he enjoined Charles Emanuel to deliver up to his Imperial Majesty's Commissary, all that he had taken in Monferrat, to fend within Ten days a Depury who should Treat, (the Prince of

Cafti-

The History of Book IV.

Castiglione being present) with him, whom the Duke of Mantua should send, about means to determine the Controverse, to the fatisfaction of those who were concerned in it: And that the Affair must be finisht within a Month, after they should meet on one Side, and on the other. But, was it prudent, to use a precife and absolute way of speaking before he had fufficient Forces in Italy to Command Obedience, if either of the Two Sides should resist? This was to expose the Authority of the Emperor too rashly, The Dukes of Savoy and Mantua had no other regard for him, but as his great Name might fometimes do them a kindness. The Princes of Italy, Feudatories of the Empire, are willing to withdraw themselves as much as possible from any Authority which incommodes them, as weak as it is. The King of Spain himself undermines it slily upon this occasion. His Catholick Majesty will have no other Arbiter in a Country where he is most powerful.

The Governour of Milan acts more effectually than the Imperial Commissary. lan compels Inojofa, being perswaded that his Master was resolved to bring this Affair to a Conclusion, without the interposition of France, sends the Prince of Ascoli at the Head of Five thousand Men, which join-Nani Hifts ed Three thousand more of the Troops of Mantua, Commanded by Prince Don

ria Veneta. Lib. 1. P613.

The Gover-

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fincent, the Cordinal Dukes Brother. This Army advances towards Nice, near 1613. o which, that of Charles Emanuel lay; he Savoiards did not then doubt, but Mercure hat the Governour was firmly resolved Francois. unctually to execute the Orders of his Catholick Majesty. There being no oher way left, but that of putting a her way left, but that of putting a ood face upon it; the General of the Dukes Army sent word to the Prince of Iscoli, that the Duke his Master entred no Monferrat, not imagining that King whilip would have espoused the Cause of the House of Mantua, against a Prince which had the Honour to be his Majekind hies Brother in Law. Since it is so, aded the Envey, the Troops of the Duke my Master are ready to retire. I will only say, at 'tis not the fear of the Arms of Manod. a, but the Respect which his Highness has r the King of Spain, that inclines him to on Resolution. He will never Employ bis orces in any thing that shall displease his untry atholick Majesty. The Prince of Ascoli, nswered that he had Orders to Relieve more the Town of Nice, and to take Care, that flary the Army of the Duke of Savoy leave laster sonferrat. He added, If the General will to said off his Army, no body will purfue it; on of at if he is resolved to stay, we'l presently the with him.

join- After so many cunning Tricks and coops contrivances, the Duke of Savoy was en-

Don aged to fee himfelf once more the Jeft of

of all Europe, and to have spent a great 1613. deal of Money in Projects that were defeated in a Moment. Before he would quite give up, he had a mind to try Inojosa whose friendship he had always reckoned upon. He proposed to him, that he would blindly devote himself to the King of Spain, in opposition to all the World, on Condition he would leave him in Possession of what he had taken. Offers, fo Honourable, fo Advantageous to the King of Spain in appearance, were despised. The Duke was reduced at last humbly to defire, that till the entire decision of the Controversie, he might have one Place left him in token of his pretensions to Monferrat. They would not enter into any Treaty with this good Prince, but fent him Padilla a General of the Artillery, one of the most morose Men in Spain, who at first word told his Highness, in Terms very concise, and with an Air of feverity, that he must e ven restore all. To compleat his mortification, Padilla produced a Letter of the King of Spain's, Short, but Expressive, which obliged the Duke to comply with what soever the Marquiss of Inojosa should prescribe to him.

Nothing so much mortifies an haughty and valiant Prince, as to be treated like . a Subject by one that is more powerful than himfelf. But what shall fay? Poor Emanuel abondoned of all the Word, was

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forced to receive the most rigid Terms. Instead of giving a Positive answer to grave Padilla, he fent of his Ministers to Milan, with fuch proposals, as tended to lengthen out the business, and delay his Resolution. Inojosa rejected them with Indignation, and fent word to Charles Emanuel, that if he did not presently Reftore all that he had Usurpt, the Prince of Ascoli should lay Siege to one of those Places, which were Re-demanded, that the Governor of Milan should come himfelf upon the Spot, and hang up every one that dared to Refift him. Duke knowing no means to prevent it, offered to Surrender and Refign all that he was in Pollession of in Monferrat. can't tell, but still he might have some little hopes of gaining time, by reason of a Quarrel that arose between Inojosa and Castiglione. Each pretended that the Places were to be delivered up into the hands of his Master : But Castiglione who had only the Name and Authority of the Emperor to back him, foon complied with the other who had the Power in his hands: The Imperial Commissary only received one Town for Form fake, and the Spaniards took Possession of the rest. Never was there an Agreement fooner Concluded than this, tho the Duke of Sapay made a great many Difficulties, before he would be brought to it. This was the tast Artifice of a Prince who had

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Before the conclusion of this Agreement,

a mind to have in Reserve a pretence to 1612 Break, when he hould fee it Convenient Treaty made with precipitation, is never well fixt. Ther's always some room for Evalion left for one, that has no mind to be honest.

A difpute bot ween the D. of Ne-Milan.

Mercure Francoise. 1613.

the Duke of Nevers, who, as we faid, vers and the Was come thither for the Relief of Mon-Governor of ferrat, had some words with the Governour of Milan, Nevers had joined Prince Vincentius of Mantua with an Hundred, or Six score French Gentlemen. observing the steps of the Spaniards, grumbled that the Prince of Ascoli had not the pleasure of an opportunity to Bang the Savoiard Army. The Marquis of Inojoja, being angry that his Collufion with Charles Emanuel was discovered, de clared openly, that he would not fuffer the French to have any Soldiers in Day, nor that any should come into the Courtry of Milan, that he would give no civil reception to any that should pass thro that Province; and if the Two thousand Men which the Chevalier de Guife was to bring with him into Italy, should come thither, he would cut them in pieces. This Spaniard was so offended at the coming of the French, that he Commanded the Gallys of Naples, of Sicily and Genoa, unitedly to oppose those Vessell which brought Aids from Provence, and to hinder the French Troops from Land ing

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ing in the Coasts of Italy. Inojosa after all, endeavoured to make the Cardinal Duke Jealous, by giving it out, that Nevers had a greater defign to make himself Master of Monferrat, than to affift the House of Mantua.

The Duke affronted with the arrogance and moroseness of the Governour, told him that 'twas too much in all reason, for a Man of Inojofa's Quality to march with so great a Train, but that the Duke Nevers, of the Family of Gonzagna, might be allow'd to have an Hundred or Sixfcore Men at his Heels. He added, excepting four or five Friends that are come to me, allthe rest belong to me; If the Marquise d'Inejosa offers to abuse any of them, I know the Reason. As for his threatning to cut in pieces the Troops which may come from France, to affet the House of Mantus, 'tis not to be rhought that his Catholick Majefty approves such Language: There's no body in the World can binder the most Christian King from Affifting bis Kinsman and Ally or opposing the unjust Designs of the Duke of Savoy. He would also raise a suspition comcerning me, but I am not afraid that the vain talk of the Marquiss d'Inojosa, should make the least impression. My Interest is so much one with that of the House of Mantua. Monsieur the Governeur confirms bimself the just suspicions we have of bis Conduct : We know his Apersion to the Cardinal Duke, and we are not ignorant of the Reasons which be U 3 bas

1613.

has to favour the Duke of Savoy, agrinst the Pretentions of his Catholick Majesty. it was that the Duke of Nevers supported the Honour of France, better than the Regent of the Kingdom. And not liftening to the wife Remonstrances of the Senate of Venice, who prest her to bring Troops into Piedmont and other Places; the suffered the Court of Madrid to have all the Honour of this Affair, being ready to reap advantage from it, as there should be opportunity.

The Marrilestor Palatine, with the K. of England's Daughter.

Larrey Hift. d'Angliterr Tom. II.

1612. 1613.

Whilst the greatest part of Europe was age of the E- in some Commotion, on the account of the death of Francis Duke of Mantua, Fames, King of Great Britain, who did not much concern himself with the Affairs of Italy, lived peceably in his own Island; he was Entertaining himself with Diversions, and giving the People afflicted for the death of the Prince of Wales a Thousand spectacles. Some said, the Father had a mind insensibly to efface the Memory of his Son, which a little beall England. Instead of fore charmed taking pains to discover the secret of the hafty death of his Son, the King heaped new favours upon his unworthy Favourite, who was thought by some to be the Author of it. Robert Carr, Viscount of Rochester was made Earl of Sommerset, a very high Title, which was not wont to be bestowed, but upon the Princes of the Blood of England, or at least to the near Kindred

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dred of the King by the Mother's Side. This Favourite married afterwards Frances Howard Countels of Effex, famous for her Crimes and Exploits. Should I make a rash judgment, if I should say, that the good King lookt upon himself as a Man happily raised from the dead, after the death of his Son, whose Court having for some time been fuller than his, made him Jealous. This was clear enough from a word that fell from him: What will they bury me alive? An expretsion which the World reflected on, when the Prince of Wales came to die a little while. after.

The occasion of so many Diversions and Festival Solemnities in England, was the Marriage of the Princes Elizabeth, the Kings Daughter, with Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine. This Alliance pleased the English extreamly, and all the Protestants. The House of Austria Mercure took a great deal of pains to Traverse it. Francois. And the Queen, whom the Court of Madrid had took Care to make their Friend, did her best to dissuade the King from it: But he concluded it, notwithfranding the Intrigues of the Spanish Faction. James conferred the Honour of the Order of the Garter upon the Elector, before the Solemnity of the Wedding. The Illustrious Prince Maurice of Orange, was Received into the same Noble and Ancient Society at the same: UA

time

time with his Nephew. The Chapter of the Order was Convened at Windler Caftle, the 14th of February this Year : The Ceremony was performed with all the Solemnity imaginable. The Elector Palatine, who was himself in England, to Negotiate his Marriage, Received the Order in Person, and Maurice being abfent, Received it by Count William of Nassau, his Proxy. Ten days after, Frederick was publickly Married to the Princels Elizabeth, Before and after their Wedding day, the King Entertained the People with Plays and magnificent Spectacles.

Holland also was well pleased, and joy. ful for a great while. Prince Maurice Received in the Presence of the States General of the United Provinces, the Garter which the Herald of the Order had brought thither, and there was nothing omitted, which might contribute to the Glory of the Ceremony. The wife Barnavelt, Pensionary of the Province of Holland. Returned thanks in the Name of the States General, to the English Ambassador, who had presented the Garter in the Name of the King his Master, to Prince Maurice. The New Electoress having past from England into Holland, in the Month of May following, to go to Heydelberg, the was Received almost in every City of the Province, and particularly at Amsterdam, with a Magnificence answerable to their Wealth, and the Memory which

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which they retained of the great affiftances which their Infant-Republick had received 1613. formerly from the Crown of England.

The Protestants were in hopes, that the Marriage of the Elector Palatine, with the Princess of Great Britain, would be very advantageous to their Religion: But there was yet one thing which they wisht for ; And that was, that King Fames would abondon his Defign of Marrying his Heir to a Princess of the Popist Coth- A Marriage munion : But altho his Majefty did not talkt of beflick publickly to fay, that the Pope was Charles Pr. Antichrift, yet he never had a fincere of Wales, & and fervent Zeal for the Establishment of Christiana the Reformation. As foon as Prince of France. Henry was in his Grave, James proposed the Marriage of Charles his Second Son, now Prince of Wales, with Christina, Se-Siri Memoicond Daughter of France. The Regent To. III. p. frankly received the Memoires, which 44. 45. 60. the Ambassador of England delivered, touching this Affair, to Villeroy Secretary of State. She hoped that the Protestants of France and elsewhere, allarmed with the double Marriage concluded with Spain, would be calmed, when they faw that nevertheless the Crown of France was not fet at fuch a diftance from an Alliance with Protestants, but that it ftill defigned a strict Union with them, in giving the younger Sifter of the King to the Heir of the most powerful Prince of their Communion. Altho the Condact

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of Maria de Medicis in this Negociation was full of Artifice and Diffimulation the Court of Rome was Jealous, and the Pope used all his Power to disfuade the Regent from liftening to the offers of his Brittannick Majesty. The Pope plainly told Breves the King's Ambassador, the he took it ill, that there should be an defign of mingling the Blood Royal of France, with that of an Heretick Prince Breves took the liberty to represent to the Pope, that the welfare of the Kingdon and of Religion it self required that the Proposals of the King of England should not be rejected. The Old Man beine devoted to Spain, did not regard him He infifted to conjure the Regent not to enter into a Negociation, so disadvan tageous to the Church, which is really as much as to fay, so little conducible to the Interests of the Court of Rome.

Mid. p. 50. 51. &c.

The Nuncio Obaldini very much be stirred himself in France, he tired the Queen with his Remonstrances; he exhausted himself in finding out the most pressing motives of Piety and Religion; at length he heated the Cabals of Devotees, which are always numerous and powerful, in an ignorant and superstitious Court. Said this Italian Prelate we the Queen, Is it possible, Madam, that your Majesty should be so little sensible of the particular kindness of God to you! Tis to distrust him Providence, to have recourse to

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the Alliance of Hereticks, as a thing necesfary for the Repose and Conservation of the 1613. Dominions of the King your Son. Your Ministers think it convenient that you should. bear the Proposals of an Heretick Prince : Your Majesty agrees with them, but that is not sufficient to clear you before God and all thele who detest this fort of Politicks. You. should rather liften to the Voice of your Conscience, and the good Advice of the Pope, than the vain speculations of a Council, that govern themselves by the maxims of the: wisdom of the Children of this World, ra-

ther than by those of Religion.

This Prelate advanced at that time, a Principle of his particular Gospel, which deserves to be related. He declares that: these pretended good People, whom he would make the Queen afraid of, entertain this piece of corrupted Morality. that the Princes of their Communion, are not obliged to observe Treaties made with those, whom they are pleased to call Hereticks, if the Terms appear to them to be never so little contrary to their Religion, that is, to the Court of Rome. This Nuncio said moreover, It is true Madam, that promises made against the interest of God, don't in any wife oblige, and that we ought not to keep them. Butconsider that your Majesty will bereafter find it more difficult to break your promise with the King of England, than it is now to rejest bis Proposals. Your Affairs are thanks 1613.

be to God, in a better Posture, than they have been fince the death of the King your Musband. The Kingdom is in a peace ful State, without the affiftance of fuch a Alliance. The time of your Administration will shortly Expire : What a comfort will it be to you, to deliver up to the King your Son, France in a better Condition than you found it, without doing any thing against your Conscience, or the welfare of Religion. These studied Discourses made no great impresfions on the Queen. She coldly answered the Nuncio, that all her Council except the Marschal de Bovillon were good Catholicks, and that they were the best Judges, what made for the Interest of the Kingdom, and of Religion. Besides, added her Majesty, I do nothing upon this occasion, but what certain Princes of Italy have done as well as I, and that before the Pope's Eyes. The Dutches of Tuscany, with all her Devotion, did she refuse to allow of any Discourse concerning the Marriage of ber Daughter with the late Prince of Wales?

Of all the Protestants, the United Princes in Germany, were those which flattered themselves with deriving great Advantages from the Alliance of the Elector Palatine with the Crown of England. They hoped that King James would Support their League, of which Frederick his Son-in Law, was the Chief. Since the Dispute that arose concerning the Succession of Cleves and Juliers, the Ani-

The Emperor Matthias goes to Ratisbonne to the Diet.

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molitie, which the Catholicks and Protestams bore towards one another in Germany, was inflamed. The Two Parties got all the Strength they could, and made Attempts upon each other. The weaknels of Rodolphus contributed much to this unhappiness. Matthias his Brother, and Successor, tryed to Cure it in the begining of his Reign: Bur he had neither Power, nor Wildom necessary to reconcile so different Interests, or to Command equal Respect from Princes that were fowr'd one against the other, with mutual Discontents. Possibly the Emperor had no very ill intentions with respect to the Protestants, at least he feemed to imitate the moderation of Maximilian his Father: But not having so much Sense and Resolution, he was ensnared with the Contrivances of the Court of Rome, the Catholick Party. The Progress the Turks made a little while ago in Hungary, seemed to threaten Matthis with a War near Home. This obliged him to keep even with both Sides,

Churches. Matthias had promised at his Corona-Protestants tiion, to call a Diet, to consult about complain of means to secure the Peace and Tranqui- each other.

because he equally needed their affiftance

against a formidable Enemy. The Pro-

testants endeavoured to make their use of this opportunity to better their Conditi-

on, and to fecure the repose of their The Cathelicks and

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lity of the Empire, and to remedy those

Mercura François. 1613.

1613. Diforders, of which feveral parts of it had complained a long time. It was appointed to meet at Ratisbonne. The Emperor and the Three Ecclefiastical Electors came thither: But the other Electors, only fent their Deputies. Lewis, Landgrave of Heffe declared at large the Reafons the Emperor had to convene the Diet. Five were with relation to the particular Government of the and the Sixth related to the Attempts of the Turks upon Hungary. His Imperial Majesty thinking it necessary, vigorously to oppose them, defired that they would grant him certain Contributions for that: purpose, but before they would enter upon the Confideration of what the Emperor proposed, the United Protestant Princes, who were then called Correspondans, presented several Grieveances, of which they had before complain'd, under the preceding Reign, without obtaining any Redress: 'Twould be to no purpose to give an account of them here. The Emperor in vain endeavoured to Elude the Demands of the Correspondans; and to defer till another time the Examination of that Affair, they stood to it, that his Imperial Majesty ought first to Redress their Greivances.

The Catholick Princes being convinced of the luftice of the pretentions of their Adversaries, were of Opinion, without

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having any regard to the Complaints of the United Protestants, that they should 1613. immediately proceed to deliberate upon the Articles proposed by the Emperor. The Confideration of some particular Persons, less in Number, said they, ought to be preferred before the necessity of the publick Welfare, which was very pressing. Being sure to have the plurality of Voices on their Side, these Gentlemen had a mind that what ever they Ordered; should be lookt upon as a Resolution of the Diet: There could be nothing more contrary to the Repose and Tranquility of the Empire, in the present posture of Affairs. At this Rate they would presently have Ruined all the Protestants in Germany. The Catholicks did likewise maliciously infinuare to the Empire, that the Protostants had ill Defigns under-hand, and that there was Reason to fear they would at last Contest the Lawful Authority of his Majesty. Within a little while after, they presented a long account of the Complaints which the Catholicks had to make against the Protestants: They accused them of diverse Infractions of the Treaty of Pacification that was made some time past at Passau, and of diverse Attempts contrary to the Constitutions of the Empire. The Catholicks Demanded Justice in their turn of his Imperial Majesty. These Gentlemen have been a long time us'd to cry out of Injustice, and Persecution, against

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gainst those very Men which they Tormented and Opprest: Not to suffer them to Tyranize, is to Persecute them. So that the Pope grants Jubilees and Indulgences with a liberal Hand, to obtain the Deliverance of those of his Religion, as if they were unjustly Opprest; altho at the same rime, they live in perfect Tran-This, we fee done every day.

The bad Success of the tisbonne.

Not being able to Reconcile Spirits which were more and more fowr'd against Diet at Ra- one another, the Emperor endeavoured to avoid the Examination of the Complaints which were made of either Side: He proposed to defer it to another time. Nevertheless he demanded Affiftance for the Security of Hungary, where Betblem Gabor, the New Prince of Transilvania, Supported by the Turks, had made himfelf dreadful. The Protest ants answered, that they did not doubt but the Emperor was well affected to them, and that they were ready to Contribute both Men and Money for the Defence of his Maiesties Hereditary Countrys: But that they could not forbear to defire his Imperial Majesty in the first Place to restablish the Peace and Tranquility of the Empire, and take Care of redreffing the Greivances which they had presented to him. The Arch-Duke Maximilian, the Emperor's Brother, a Prince of a fweet and moderate Temper, was then at Raeisbonne : Matthias defired him to Treat

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with the Protostants, hoping he was able to bring them over; but altho they profest a great Respect for the Arch-Duke. vet he could obtain nothing of them. With a defign to make the Emperor more favourable, the Catholicks shewed themselves Liberal and well Inclined: They promised to furnish him for Two years, with their Antient Contributions to carry on a War against the Turks. the Protestants oppos'd this Deliberation, being relolv'd not to fuffer, that the Refolutions taken by the Casholicks should be lookt upon as the Decrees of the whole Diet of the Empire: Thus the Diet of Ratisbonne broke up; instead of remedying the disorders of Germany, it made them greater and more incurable.

Since Beeblem Gaber muft often ap The Pertune pear upon the Stage in this History, I of Bethlem think it necessary to say something of his Gabor. Pr. Fortune, and Elevation: He was one of the grania. most dangerous Enemies the House of Au-

fria had in this Age. I will look a pretty way backwards upon things, that so the Reader may the better understand the Ancient pretenions of the Emperor upon Tranfilvania. The brave Stephen Battori was the first, who was declared Prince of Transilvania, under the Protection of the Ottomans. After his Elevation to the Crown of Poland, by his means Christoober his Brother, was Elected to the Principality of Transilvania. Sigismend his

The History of Book IV.

1613.

his Son and Successor, steered another Course by the pertuation of the Emissaries of the House of Austria, which he had about him. This Prince, who did not want Courage, was persuaded that it was more advantageous and more honourable for him to quit the Alliance of the Sultan, and unite with the Emperor. But to the shame of Christianity, Sigif mond found, that, which has happened to a great many more, I mean he met with less Justice and Fidelity among those of his own Religion, than his Uncle and his Father had found among Infidels. he might be more firmly united with the Emperor Rodolphus, he Married a Princess of the House of Austria, but this marriage was the cause of the misfortunes of his Life. They made him give up his Right to Transilvania for a certain Dutchie which they gave him. At length repenting of the bad Market which he had made, he retracted the Cession which he had made to the Emperor, and gave his Principality to Cardinal Battori his Brother, who was cholen by the States of the Country under the Protection of the Grand Seignior. The new Prince had a terrible War to maintain against the Emperor, and in it loft his Life.

Mercure Francois. 1606, 1607, 1608, &c. Botskay his Kinsman Elected afterwards by the Transilvanians, defended himself with a great deal of Courage and Success, insomuch that he took a great many

Places

LEWISXIII. Book IV.

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Places from the Emperor in upper Hunga-The House of Austria was forc'd to. 1613. make a Peace with him. One Article of the Treaty Imported, that if Bortskay died withot Mate-Islue, Transilvania should Devolve upon the Emperor: The Sultan Ratified this Treaty in another, which he afterwads made with Rodolphus. The House of Austria not long before it Demanded Transilvania, by Virtue of this Agreement. Borskai being poisoned immediately after, by his Chancellor, The States of the Country did not tail to choose Sigismond Ragotski for their Prince. There were then so great Divisions in the House of Austria, and such Commotions in Hungary and Bokemia, that neither Rodolphus nor Matthias his Brother, were in a Condition to press the Execution of the Treaty made with Botskay. The New Prince did not long enjoy Transilvania, but Generously gave it up to Gabriel Batori, Heir of that Family, whom the Turks publickly Supported.

He being rendred odious by his Cruel- Mercure ties, Betblebem Gabar a Transilvanian Gentleman, of boundless Ambition, took care to gain the Favour and Protection of the Ottoman Court. This is the Man, which formed a powerful Party against Batori, and which made War against The Affiftance of the House of Auftria was of no use to Bateri,

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was presently Reduc'd to the lowest De 1613. Spair, so that he begged of his own Friends to kill him : His Enemies Soldien did him that kindness, which they refused. Three days after his death, Bethem was declared Prince of Transilve mia, by the General of the Turkish Army, who invaded Himgary, The States of the Country affembled at Clauffembourg afterwards chose him, upon Condition that he should ask the Authentick Com-When Beth firmation of the Sultan. lem was in Possession of his New Principality, he wrote a Letter to the Pr latine of Hungary, to defire the Favour of the Emperor: But his Imperial Majesty intended to make the best of his Pretentions to Transilvania, by Virtue of his Treaty made with Batskai, which the Sultan Confirm'd. Matthias declared this publickly in the Diet of Rarisbonne, and it was principally for this End, that he defired Assistance of the States of the Empire. With this Prospect the House of Austria kept up the Party of Batori, who refused to acknowledge the New Prince. Bethlem Protected by the Turk, whose Favour be had cumningly gained, not only maintained himself in Transilvania, but was upon the Point of taking away Hungary from them that would oppose him.

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The Protest and Catholick Leagues, were formed in Germany upon the occa- 1613. ion of the Quarrel that arose about the The Divistuccession to the States of Cleves and Fu-mbetween iers, the Princes of Brandenbourg and the Houses Newbourg Governed these Durchies in of Branden-Common, Peaceably for many Years, burg and Newbourg under the Favour of the Protestant League, concerning The strong Places were guarded by e- the Governqual Garrisons. The Two Princes Re-ment of thes fided in the same Palace, and did all by Cleves and Concert. But how difficult is it that a Juliers. Country should be long governed after Interests de this manner, without Divisions? Princes M. de Roof a different Family and different Reli-han. Port 1. gion, have not the same Interest and De-Disc. 4. figns. These began to fall out about Ecclesiastical Affairs. Brandenburg would Francoise. have ordered fomething, without the confent of his Colleague, and Newbourg opposed him. The King of great Britain, and the States of the United Provinces, Mediated for a Reconciliation, they were afraid their Division would give opportunity to the House of Austria to Seize upon a Contested Succession, which would have been so convenient for it; to prevent the Increase of their misunderstanding, their Friends proposed a Marriage, between the Two Families.

That of Newburg was free to it. Prince Volfgang goes to the Elector of Branden burg, and defires his Daughter in Marriage. But this ftep made by the whole-

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1613.

fome Advice of those, who defigned no thing, but to Establish a good Correspondence between the Two Houses, was the occasion of an inplacable hatred be tween them, and of the Diffraction of those fine Du tchies, which they might have divided between them. I cannt tell how it came to pass, but in the heat of Wine, and at a Feast, The Prince of Newburg said something at the Table of the Elector, which displeased him. Brandenburg was so enraged at it, that he gave a Box in the Ear to him, who defired his Alliance. This unhappy accident might have been redreft, if the Elector would have made a fuitable Satisfaction; but he obstinately refused to do it. Volfgang being provokt with fuch an Affront, returns to the Country of Cleves, being resolved to be Reveng'd on him, what ever it cost him. From that time. Brandenburg and Newburg did nothing by Concert, in the Government of the States of Cleves and Juliers; they Cavild at every little thing, and the one pretended to disannul, what the other had done'

Prince Wolfgang of Newbourg marries the D. Daughter,

The Spaniards wifely made their Advantage, of fo fair an occasion to weaken the Protestant League, and to bring oof Bavaria's ver the House of Newburg, to their Faand changes Ction. They proposed to Prince Volfgan his Religion. a Match with Magdalen, Sifter of Maximilian, Duke of Bauaria, and of Ferdinand,

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Elector of Cologne. They promised him the Protection of the House of Austria, a Pension from the King of Spain, and the Support of the Catholick League, if be would quit his Religion, and enter into the Communion of the Church of Rome; a very sensible Tempration to an Ambitious young Prince, and who was big with Revenge for the horrible Affront, which had been offered him. Newburg falls before the force of it: Bur Wolfgang, whether 'twere to keep fair with his Father, who was a zealot for the Confession of Ausbourg, or whether he had fome other Reasons, would not renounce his Religion before his Marriage. He. only consented to Marry the Princess Magdalen, and the Duke of Newboirg gave his Consent, not seeing the Snare, which was laid for his Son, who was blinded with Passion. The Marriage was Celebrated at Munich, the 10th of November, this Year: And that he might keep within bounds, as to outward appearance; the Prince was not Married by the Mass, he only received the Nuptial Benediction by the hands of the Bishop of Aichst at Evening Service, in the great Church of Munich : But at length Wolfgang declared himself in the Month of May, the next Year. He made publick profession of the Popist Religion at Duffeldorp. The Duke his Father was extion

tion which he publisht immediately, after is an infallible proof of it ; It imported that every Munday throughout the Year publick Prayers should be made for the Confervation of the Protestant Religion in the Dutchy of Newbourg.

The Artifices and Fetches of the Duke

The Peace mude beof Savoyo. o stable.

of Savoy, oblige us frequently to return to him. The Treaty of Peace between tween the D Charles Emmuel and the Cardinal Ferdi Mantua, has nand, Duke of Mantua, had been conmuch ado to cluded with so much precipitation, the continuefirm they spoke there only of Refigning the Places in Monferrat, without making an mention of the Mutual pretentions of each Party, of the reparation of the Da mages done in Monferrat, which Ferdi nand demanded, nor of an Amnely for the Subjects of the House of Man sud, who had declared for that of Same which Charles Emanuel was willing to ob tain. These Affairs not being settled Disputes must presently revive: Neither were the Princes of Italy very well fe tisfied with a Peace, that was so infirm and subject to a Rupture. They imagined, and that with probability enough that the Marquis a Inojosa had made in because he could tell how to refuse Obe dience to the positive Orders of the King his Master. They were still afraid there was a Collution between him and the Duke of Savoy, and that they, both of them had an under-hand Defign, A the

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the very same time that Charles Emanuel Restored the Towns in Monferrat, he reenforced his Troops, and the Governor of Milan remained in Arms, diligently observing all these steps, of which the most penetrating head could not understand the Secret. The Venetians took care to continue to the Cardinal Duke, the affiftance which they had given him fince the beginning of the Quarrel, and to be themselves upon their Guard. The Quarrel which arose between their Republick, and Ferdinand of Austria, Arch-Duke of Gratz, who had a great Intereft at the Court of Madrid, obliged them to distrust the King of Spain. 'Twas upon the account of the Uscaques Pyrars and Robbers upon the Coasts of Dalmatia, whom the Arch-Duke openly protected, although the Venetians and the Turks did equally complain of their Robberys. We shall say something in the Course of this History concerning this Quarrel, which occasion'd the Uscoques to be known in the World.

That which most perplext the specu- The Goverlative Italians about the Affair of Mon-nor of Mi ferrat, was, that the Governor of Milan lan preffeth who was thought to be in the Interest of Savoy to King Charles Emanuel; nevertheless powerful-lay down there ly prest him to lay down his Arms as soon his Arms. the as possible: Ard at the same time, that h of he was contending with him, he would Acconstrain Ferdinand to do all that the Sal

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woyard could with. These steps Contrary 1613. in appearance, are not difficult to be reconciled. Spain endeavoured to make its advantage of the Quarrel. His Catholick Majesty pretended to be the abfolute Arbiter, and to direct the Duke of Savoy and Mantua as should be most for his Interest. The Governor of Milan who had no mind to be at the charge of having an Army on Foot to oppose the Duke of Savoy in case his Attempts should make it necessary, was continually preffing him to Disband his Troops: And because it was of Importance to the King his Master to have at his Disposal the Heiress of Monferrat, he boldly de manded her of the Cardinal Duke; and thus the Intrigue comes out. Now le us fee how these Two Parties will ge clear of the Demands of the Catholic King. Inojofa had fent to Turin the Com mander of the Caftle of Milan, post tively to tell the Duke that he mu comply immediately with what was re quired of him. Charles Emanuel bore ve by impatiently this Imperious way, which the Spaniards took with him, and with the other Princes of Italy, altho he ha been used to it for many Years. not being able openly to refift the wills King Philip, he found out according his usual way, divers pretences to thrin back. Never was a Mind more fruitful of fuch Inventions, than that of the Prince.

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He answered to this Message, that he was ready to dismis his Troops, when the Marquis of Inojosa should perform the private Articles, to which the Cardidal Duke of Mantua had agreed, at the time of the Treaty made with him. Mr. be Governor bath himself given me positive furances, said Charles Emanuel, that the Cardinal Duke did confent to deliver up into m bands the Princess Mary my Grandlaughter, and to grant a general Amnesty to be Subjects of Monferrat, which declared or me. Is it not fit that I should continue n Arms till this be performed? All the World was mightily surprized when this nswer of the Duke of Saver was known. he Cardinal Ferdinand denied that he had ver promis'd any fuch thing. He pretend-l likewise that Inojosa had told him to the intrary. People could not tell what to ink of this Riddle. Some faid that e Governor of Milan having received relents from Charles Emanuel and Ferdis pe nd, had impos'd upon them both, in tel-g the Duke of Savoy that which I have lated before and in promiting the clear with ha ntrary to the Cardinal Duke, that the
Bu voyard would not re-demand his Granville ughter, nor require an Amnesty from ing a ple of Monferrat who had appeared for thring m. Inojofa was enrag'd that the Duke with Savor would have him to the Duke witte that he could fay in his own Defence, Has, that Charles Emanuel had played many

1613.

many fuch tricks before. In his Negociations with the Ministers of Henry IV, and the most considerable Persons in the Court of France, he often affirmed that in their private Conferences they had promised him things which they never thought of.

Whatsoever this Intrigue was, if the Governor of Milan had ever faid fuch things to the Duke of Savoy, he was not much concerned about them afterwards. Inojosa persisted to press Charles Emanuel to lay down his Arms. It was his bufness now to find out other Evafions, France, faid he, bath Troops in Dauphine. The Mareschal de Lesdiguieres expects only the Queen Regent's last Orders to advance towards Piedmont. Doth bis Catholick Me jesty expect that I should not be upon my guard? This cunning Duke knew very well that Mary de Medicis being fully fatisfied that the Houses of Savoy and Man tua had made a Peace without France fending any Troops over the Mountains had no defign that Lesdiguieres should March. The Queen Regent for her part defired likewise, that he should lay down his Arms. Charles Emanuel had answer ed the Ministers of her most Christian Majesty, that the Spaniards did not will him well, and that Prudence obliged him to be in a posture of Defence, again those which had not forgot that he was a League against them with the late King Verga

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Vargas, Secretary to his Catholick Majesty, was upon the point to return to 1612. Madrid, after he had executed the Orders which were given him with relation to Italy. They fent him New ones, to pass first by the way of Turin, and to know the last resolution of the Duke. This business perplex'd Charles Emanuel less Nani Hist = than any of the rest. He pretended to ria Veneta. dismiss his Troops in the Envoy's Pre-Lib. I. fence. But he Cashierd only the Militia of his Country, which he could recall in a Moment. It was enough that he retained the Foreign Troops which were in his Pay. We see the reason why he us'd all these Tricks, unworthy of a Man of his Quality. His Spies in France gave him an account, that the Prince of Conde and the other Malecontents would shortly Rife, and that there would be a Civil War. Charles Emanuel was in hopes to make his advantage of this Conjuncture, to re-establish his Affairs in Italy, or on the Side of France. But the poor Duke was The Gover-Iways deceived in his Expectations, and nor of Milan infuccessful in his Intrigues and Artifi-demandathe

ces. The Cardinal Duke would have been the Name of pleas'd to fee his Enemy perplext with the K. of he Spaniards, if the Governor of Milan had not been as troublesome to him as e was to Charles Emanuel. The Venetim advis'd Ferdinand to make this Answer ria Veneta. o the Demand that Inojosa made him, Lib. I.

Mantua in

to fend his Niece to Milan, that as to all his Quarrels with the Duke of Saver, Siri Memo. recondite. Tom. III.

127. &C.

and particularly that which related to the Princels of Mantua, he was ready to refer himself to the Judgment of the Pope. p. 123.1126. the Emperor, and his Catholick Majesty: But in his Arbitration, the Spaniard could not endure that Philip should have either a Superior or an Equal, Without having any respect to that which his Imperial Majesty had told him by the Prince of Castiglione, that he ought to treat the Princes of Italy with more Softness and Civility; the Governor fent Pimente General of the Milanois Horse to De mand in the Name of the King of Spain that they would forthwith fend the young Princess to Milan to be Educated there Pimentel represented to the Cardina Dake that Philip would take care of the Education of his Niece, and that the re pole of Italy depending in a great met fure upon the disposal of the young Prin cess, his Majesty who was careful of the Conservation of the Peace, ought to have the Princels in his keeping, for fear the should Marry her to one that should me be agreeable to the Neighbouring Prince and perhaps might raise a War : Piment concluded his Remonstrance in givin Ferdinand to understand that if he would not deliver up his Niece willingly, the would take her away by Force. Cardinal Duke answered according to

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usual manner, that he could not do any thing without the consent of the Emperor 1613. and the Queen of France. Pimentel not being fatisfied with this answer, he told him further, that the Princess was not well; and because he would not believe it, he gave him a fight of her, to convince him that the was not in a Condition to be removed; after this Ferdinand dismift him as Civilly as he could.

It was no hard matter to penetrate the The Defigns

Defigns of the Court of Madrid. The of the k- of Cardinal Duke and Don Vincent his Bro- this demand. ther, had so ruined their health by their excessive Debauches, that it was thought they would never have any Children, and that they were not long lived. To preferve Monferrat in the Family of Gonzarue, it was necessary to Marry the Princess to the Son of the Duke of Nevers, e re the undoubted Heir of the Dutchy of mer Mantua: And it was this which the Prin Court of Moderid had a mind to hinder. the King of Spain had a mind to make har himself Master of the Dominions of the the House of Mantua, for fear they should d mone day fall into the Hands of a Prince of French Extraction, who would favour the French Interest, by reason of his great siving cossessing and Alliances in France. This would be too true, that Ferdinand at this time the alling dangerously ill, the Ministers of pain had already laid their Design, to roll eclare the Duke of Nevers had forfeited

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all his Right to the Succession of Mantua. and that the Investiture of the Dutchy should be given by the Emperor to him, whom the House of Austria should best like of, as if the Male Line of the Gonzagues had been utterly extinct.

The Republick of Venice traver les the designs of the King of Spain.

The Cardinal Duke of Mantua who had neither understanding nor experience enough in Affairs to extricate himself out of all these Intrigues, did supply his defects by his teachable Temper, and by the Respect which he paid to the good Counsels which the Senate of Venice care These refined Politicifully fent him. ans saw with extream Jealuosie that Spaniards had no less a Defign the than to devour all Italy. Not being content to affift Ferdinand with their

Counsels, and with their Forces, and to encourage him resolutely to maintain the Interests of his Family; this Republick

Nani Hiftoria Veneta. Lib. I.

Siri Memo. recondite. 137.

further gave preffing Orders to their Ambassadors at Rome, Vienna, and at Paris to Treat zealously with the Pope, the Emp. 133, 134, peror and the Queen of France, in Ferdinand's favour. The Ministers of the most Christian King, and the Republick of Venice represented to Paul V. that his Title of universal Father, indispensably obliged him to prevent the ill Confe quences of the Enterprize of the Spaniard but the Pope was unconcerned, and acted not in this matter, being refolv'd pear

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the advantages of the Popedom; he would have feen all the Princes of Italy 1612. Ruin'd without any Concern, fo that they let him alone and suffered his Nephews to grow Rich at their eafe. Breves, Ambaffador of France, affronted at this natural or affected Negligence, writ to Mary de Medicis, that the Pope was but a lump of Flesh which grew Fat in Laziness, a Man without Courage and without Experience, who took no other Care but of making his advantage of the highest Place in the Church, which Fortune had given him, thô he did not see Merit in himself to pretend to it: So that there were not hopes that his Holiness would give the least affistance to the House of Mantua. All that Paul V. could do, was to whilper in the Ear of the Cardinal Duke that he should obstinately refuse to part with his Niece, and to Marry Margarite his Sister-in-Law, to which the King of Spain perswaded him, so much afraid was this timerous Old Man to ofmost be thus also, that the Pope being well hit Philip III. and of the Weakness of thepanish Monarchy, did rightly Judge that ill this Bustle was but an Intrigue of the Catholick King's Ministers, and that. per hreatned with a War with Francedays ie would put a stop to the forwardness,

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of his Ministers, and hear Reasons? 1612. Mary de Medicisperplext about the Affairs recondite.

As to the Emperor, there was less to be hop'd for from him than from the Matthias neither was in a Condition nor in an Humour to fend Troops to Italy, and befides he was afraid too openly of Mantua-to offend the Court of Madrid. His Imperial Majesty confirm'd to the Cardinal Duke the Guardian hip of his Neice : But he writ immediately to King Philip to excuse himself, and tell him that he could not fairly refuse that favour to Ferdinand And to fatisfie the Spaniards yet more, Matthias advised Ferdinand to deliver up the Princess Mary into the hands of his Catholick Majesty. The House of Mantua had no other Refuge but the Protection of France. The Kindred and Friends which it had there, Solicited for it with all its might: The Ambassadors of the Republick of Venice and of some other States did still Treat in its favour : Mary a Medicis was well pleased with the Refons which they alledged to her, to exhort her to take her Nephews under the Protection of her Son. Interest of Blood was united together with Reasons of State. But the Timerous Regent could not come to a Resolution: Being fond of the double Marriage with Spain, which the had managed with a great deal of application, and which she tooks upon as the strongest support of his Authority, her Majesty was afraid least the Affairs of

of Mantua should produce a Rupture between the two Crowns, and all her Pro- 1613. jects should be unravel'd. She suspected & the Importunities of the King of Great-Brittain, the Republick of Venice, the States of the United Provinces, the Prince of Conde and the great Men of the Party us'd with her, to fend Troops into Italy. Her skill went so far as to discover that all these endeavoured only to Engage France openly to oppole the Deligns of the Court of Madrid to declare War against the King of Spain, and consequently to break the Treaty of the double Marriage which did not fo well fuit with

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their Interests. In this perplexity Mary de Medicis did her endeavour at the Court of Madrid, that the Affair of Mantua might be foon. amicably Concluded: But the Spaniards which knew her Temper, did amuse her with fine Words, whilft they heartily endeavoured to effect their Enterprise; not being concern'd about the Negociations Nani Hifteagainst their Master in France and Italy, ria Veneta. the Ministers of Philip declared plainly Lib. I. that he expected that he should have the Princess of Manena committed to his Care, and that the Cardinal Duke should Marry Margarita of Savoy, his Sifter-in-Law, in order to compose the differences of the two Houses. That Charles Emanuel and Ferdinand should immediately lay down their Arms, and that the other contested

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P. 174.

Points -

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Points should be referr'd to the Judgment of the Pope, the Emperor and his Catholick Majefty. These Conditions were agreeable to the Demands which Charler Emanuel had made : And hence it appeared that the Prince of Piedmont who had at last obtained leave to go to Madrid, had not ill managed the Affairs of his Father. In the mean time the Duke of Savoy was enraged to find himfelf always curb'd and over-rul'd. But Ferdinand was more agriev'd than he. They were not content to take away his Niece, but would also force him to Marry against his Will, his Sifter-in-Law whom he did not Love. The hatred which he bore to Charles Emanuel very much Bftranged him from the Daughter of a declared Enemy of the House of Gonza He lik'd better the Sifter of Cofm, Great Duke of Tufcany; the would be a considerable Fortune. The Venetians, his particular Friends advis'd him this Match And Cosmo was inchin'd to Conclude it a foon as the Quarrel between the Duke of Savoy and Mantua should be made up. The Spaniards spoiled their Bufiness by

It is propofed in the Council of France to lend Troops to Italy.

speaking too proudly. It was earnestly represented to the Queen Regent that it was a Shame and a Dishonour to suffer the King of Spain to Domineer over Princes Allied to that Crown, and that he should endeavour to hinder the King of France from concerning himself about

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the most important Affairs of Italy, Mary de Medicis hard put to it on every Side, 1613. began to give some figns of Life. She declared roundly to the Ambaffador of Siri Memo. Spain that the King her Son should not Tom. III. fee the House of Mantus Opprest, and p. 141, 142, that he should employ his Arms to affift &c. his Kindred and Allies. They talkt of nothing in France but a Rupture between the Two Crowns: And the Nobles who breath'd nothing but War, althô it be the ney instrument of their Ruin and by confeece, quence of their Slavery, were in readiness many Councils at Court about the Affair of Mantua, every one advis'd according to their own particular Interest. Villeroy of a and the Ministers who were best pleas'd with Peace, Represented, that before sim, hey were Engaged in a War, which hey were Engaged in a War, which he a night be a long and Bloody one, it his was fit to try if the Quarrel could not at the e adjusted by way of Negociation. The Princes and Great Men who thought hat War would tend most to their Adaptancement and Reputation, did not utely reject the Experiment of a Negociation ow Essectual, that they should have an interpretation of the essection of the last of the last of the last of the last of the essection at its own that they should have an interpretation of the last of the last of the last of the essection of the last of the

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The Q. Regent Jends de Cœuvres into Italy, for to negociate an Agreement and Man-

Siri Memo. recondite. p, 165.172. 173.175.

tua.

Hift. du Connetable ieres. Liv. VIII. Ch. 6.

When the latter had learnt by his Ambassador in France, that they spoke in earnest of sending Troops into Italy, his Majesty and the Duke of Lerma his Favourite, who had no mind to go to War, the Marquis began to speak with more humility. They declar'd themselves inclin'd to terminate the Affair of Mantua, by way of Negociation. Philip coldly defires the Prince of Piedmont to Write to Turin, between the that his Majesty would not fall out with D. of Savoy France, and that he would not give occasion to others to break with Spain, for the Duke of Savoy's Fancy's who had every day new Chimæra's in his Head Let your Father, added the King, think of nothing but lying still, unless he find him felf able to Cope alone with the Two Crowns, and all Italy. A certain Author relates upon this occasion a Circumstance which if True, proves Charles Emanuel to be de Lesdigu- the most fantastical Man in the World. at least Villeroy told it for certain to the Nuncio Ubaldini. The Cardinal Aldobrandin an Enemy to the Borgheses being at Turin, perswaded the Duke of Savoy to become a Cardinal. It would be very easie for you afterwards, said Aldobrandin, to be Elected Pope in the first Conclave, I will undertake for all my Uncles Creatures. In

> the mean time we will flick to one another, and make the Pope and Court of Rome do what we please. The Count de Verue, 2 Confident of Savoy, approv'd of this Pro-

ject,

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ject, and thought it one of the finest in the World. Let us return now to see 1613. what became of the Affair of Mantua.

His Catholick Majesty sent Orders again to his Ambassador in France, to Declare that he would withdraw his Troops from Monferrat, provided the Cardinal Duke would grant an Amnesty to his Subjects which had Sided with the Duke of Savoy, and defift from demanding reparation of Damages. The Marriage of Ferdinand with his Brother's Widow, was proposed at the same time: And as for the young Princels of Mantua, Philip confented that the should be disposed of in a Third hand by the Agreement of the Two Crowns. These Offers were tendr'd in the most Civil Language imaginable: All this feem'd to give an opportunity to the Cardinal Duke to Extricate himself with Honour. The Court of France was intent upon the Method of Negociaton, and fent one for that purpose into Italy, in Quality of Ambassador Extraordinary.

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The Marquis de Cœuvres who was fixed The torren.
upon for this Imploy, set out from Paris sonable Amat the End of this Year, took the Road bition of at the End of this Year, took the Road Couchini, of Turin that he might Confer with the now Mare-Duke of Savoy, in the first place Cœuvres schal of informs us himself that he had secret Or-France, and ders to Treat with the Cardinal Duke his Wife. about surrendring his Cap to Galigai the Mareschalless of Anchre's Brother. These

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Memoires de la Regence de Maria de Medics. Siri Memo. recondite. Tom. III. p. 36. 160.

People set no Bounds to their Ambition. Conchini obtained the Staff of Mareschal of France in the room of Fervacques lately dead: And now Galigai not being content that her Husband was raised to the Second Military Honour in France, proposes to obtain for her Brother the Second Dignity in the Church of Rome: This-Creature io far forgot her felf, that the did not observe the Rules of Decency, with the Princesses of the Blood, A little while before the had spoke in the Queen's Closet to the Princess of Conde in fuch a Proud and Imperious manner, that her Highness was extremely Affronted, All the World was offended at the Infolence of Conobini's Wife, whose behaviour did not a little provoke the Princes and Great Men against her Husband, whose new Dignity of Mareschall of France did yet more expose him, to the jealousie and hatred of the Courtiers.

Continuation of the Disputes about Quefitions concerning Grace and Pradestination in the United-Provinces.

There was not less Confusion in the United Provinces. about Questions concerning Grace and Predestination, than in Italy about the Interests of the Dukes of Savor and Mantua. James King of Great-Britain interpos'd in the Disputes of the Divines of Holland with as much Heat and Zeal, as the Kings of France and Spain did in the Quarret occasioned by the Pretensions of Charles Emanuel upon Monferrat. Winwood the English Ambassador to the States General of the United

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United Provinces, was very much in the nal interest of the Divines which adhered 1613. o Gomarus; They did fay, that it was a Point of great Concern to the Crown of f the King his Master. Nevertheles, preface dee he Question was only to know whether after du Syforstius should be excluded the Universi- node de Dory of Leiden, which had Invited him thither drecht.
or at most, to determine whether the de la Refive Articles of Arminians were contrary formation. o the Fundamental Doctrines of the Re-Liv. XX, ormed Churches. The Ambassador pub-XXI. ickly Declared, that Barnevels Pentiona- Apologeticus hat by of Holland, was Govern'd by Vytenbo- corumqui ard Minister of the Church of the Hollandia Hague, and that the States of Holland, led Prafuerunt. by Barnavelt, did all that he Suggested & alibi o them. The Gomarists which now be- passim. gan to be call'dContra-Remonstrants, by Reason of the Contra-Remonstrances which hey oppos'd to the Requests and Wriings of the Arminians, their adversaries he Gomarists I say did continually offer new Memorials to their Winwood, someimes against Vorstius, sometimes against the states of Holland, whom they accus'd as oo favourable to the Remonstrants, and ocinians themselves. The Ambassador Communicated every thing to the King, or to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and publickly disallowed Vorstius and the Arninians. The Support which the Contra-Remonstrants Received from his Majesty, did strangely perplex the States of Hol-

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land. They tryed all possible ways to stifle these Disputes, which might have unbappy Consequences. And the Contra-Remonstrants which always reckon'd upon the Protection of King James, would not be at Rest.

After the famous Conference held at the Hague, in 1611. the States of Holland Ordered the Divines of cach Side to draw up their Thoughts in Writing, concerning the Five Articles in Controverse, And to give their Opinion concerning the Means which might be most proper to compese the Disturbance which their Dispute had occasioned in several of the United Provinces. The Remonstrants de clar'd that their way of Toleration feem'd the fafest and most convenient; so that every one should have the Liberty to Teach and Preach his Opinion concerning the Five Articles in Dispute. The Contra-Remonstrants propos'd a Convocation of the National Synode, which should Examine and Determine which of the Two Opinions was most agreeable to the Word of God, and to the Doctrine commonly received in the Reformed Churches. When the States of Helland were confulting about this matter in their Assembly, they found themselves divided into Two Parties, the one approv'd the Advice given by the Remonstrants, and the other was for a National Synod. The First carried it.

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Without declaring for one or the other, the States of Holland publish'd an Edict, in which it enjoined both the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, Charitably to bear with one another, not to disturb the Peace of the Churches, not to fay which had got the better of the other, to speak with a great deal of Wariness and Confideration concerning the controverted Points in their Sermons, to take more care to inculcate upon the People the duties of the Christian Life, and the necessity of preserving Peace in the Church and in the Common-wealth, then to explain to their Auditory abstracted and difficult Points in Divinity, and whereas the Contra-Remonstrants complain'd that their Adversaries entertain'd Opinions contrary to the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches, not only concerning Grace and Predeftination, but also about original Sin, the Satisfaction of Jesus Christ, and other important Articles of Religion. The States of Holland forbid them to Preach in their publick Lectures and their Sermons any thing contrary to what the Reformed Churches had always Professed to be concerning Original Sin, the Satisfaction of Jesus Christ, and other Articles specified in the Edict of the States.

This is sufficient to refute the Calumny of certain zealous Contra-Remonstrants, who had the Impudence publickly to accuse the States of Holland of a design to

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introduce into their Province, the Impie ties of Paulus Samosatenus, which Serve tus and Socious had reviv'd in the last Age They which compos'd this Illustious Af fembly, always detefted the Enemys the Divinity of Jesus Christ. If seven Deputies to the States of Holland did no think themselves oblig'd to declare again Vorstius, his being call'd to the University of Leiden, the Reason was because Von fius publickly disavow'd the Opinions Socious. The States defired him to Prin the Declaration that he had made, both in Latin and in Dutch, and to fend it 1 the King of England. They Command ed him also particularly to answer all the Accusations which he had been charged with in Print, and to ftay at Tergow til they were better inform'd of his rea Grotius so renown'd for hi Opinions. Works, was then Fiscal Advocate of Holland, he had a great share in what the States did, with relation to these dispute This Learned Man did to abhor Socinia nism, that he declar'd that the Follower of Socious did not deserve the Name of Christians, and that he saw but little diff ference between a Socinian and a Mahr metan. Grotius afterwards did not feem to havequite so bad an Opinion of the Disciples of Socinus, but yet he never espouled their Sentiments. This might be clearly prov'd by abundance of Passages in his Letters and in his Works. Whatfoever they

Epistola Grotii 13. ad Walaum 1611.

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ey might say to stain his Reputation he, ill always have the Glory of having 1613. etter refuted the deceitful subtilties of cimus against the Satisfaction of Jesus brift, than any who have writ before im.

The Wifer and more moderate Di- New Connes eafily submitted to the Edict tests in Holablish'd in 1611. Those of the Walloon land about hurches fignaliz'd themselves upon this their Paccasion, they promis'd in their Synods stors. 1612, and 1613. to Respect as Breren those which maintain'd the Five rticles in Dispute. But the far greater ert of the Dutch Ministers were not so ractable. They had almost all took e Side or other in this Quarrel; they hich were for the Contra-Remonstrants, claim'd against the Edict; they acs'd the States of Holland of a base Conscention to Men whose Doctrine tend- Grotius Oto re-establish Popery, or at least to ratione hatroduce Socinianism into the Reformed bità in Seburches. In the Year 1612. there a ledamensi, le a bufiness which occasion'd a new & Epist. 18. ontest, the Remonstrants complained ad Urtenat their Adversaries were more nume-bog ardum. us in their Synods and certain Assemies which are called Classes in the Unid Provinces, and which the Reformed France call Colloques, they complain'd at it often happen'd that they refused admit to the Ministry, those which clar'd for the Doctrine of the Five

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The History of Book IV.

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Articles; upon this and some other confiderations, Barnevelt proposed in the Af-I fembly of the States of Holland, the Revival of a Law made in the Year 1591. concerning the manner of choosing the Pastors of the Church.

Grotius. Apologeticus corum qui Hollandia prafuerunt. Cap. VII.

It feems that at the beginning of the Reformation in Holland, William Prince of Orange, and the States of Holland had a defign to make a Law, that the Election of the Ministers should belong to the Magistrates of the Places, but the Clergy had Wit enough to baffle this Project. National Synod Convened at the Hague in 1586. Ordered that the Paftors should be chosen by the Consistory, that they would do the Magistrates the Honour of giving them notice of the Election, and of asking them whether they found any fault with the Manners or the Doctrine of the Person chosen. The Decree of the Synod overturn'd the Right of Patronage Established in Holland a long time before the Reformation which the States and Gentlemen of that Courtry endeavour'd to retain, as well as many other Reformed Provinces. Far from approving this Order the States of Holland published an Edict the same Year, by which they declar'd, that their Intention was to referve to themselves and to the Gentlemen, the Right of Patronage, upon Condition that they who are Named by the Patrons should not be received into

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Book IV. LEWIS XHL

the Ministry but after an exact Information of their good Manners, and of their sound Doctrine. Neither did the States of Zealand observe this Canon of the National Synod at the Hague. In the Year 1591. They Convene'd a particular Synod of their own Province. 'Twas there Decreed that the Consistory should desire the Magistrates of the respective Places to Name certain Persons from amongst themselves, who should proceed Jointly with the Consistory in the Election of their Ministers.

In Holland, there almost every day arose some dispute when there was a Vaant Church, to be provided for; the Confiftory maintain'd that this priviledge belonged folely to them: The Magifrates and the Gentlemen endeavour'd to maintain their Right of Patronage. But to remedy the disorders which frequent disputes about this Point occasioned, they endeavoured in the Year 1591. in the Affembly of the States of this Province, make a New Regulation concerning he manner of choosing Pastors. According to this Project the Magistrates and the Confiftory were to Name each Four Persons of their own Body, to Eect Jointly: The Act of Election was be carried afterwards to the Body of he Magistrates, who should have power Accept or Reject the chosen Minister : And in this last Case they were to proceed

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ceed to a new Election. This Law was agreeable enough to the Civil Law Efter blish'd by the new Constitutions of the Emperor Justinian, touching the Election of Ecclefiaftical Ministers. And because it was convenient to Reserve some Priviledges w particular Persons, who had the Patronage of Churches; it was added in the fame Law, that if there were a Paftor to be chofen to a Church of which a particular Perfon was the Patron, then this Person was m depute Four others to Elect in Conjunction with the Four Named by the Confftory: So that a Gentleman had the fame priviledge with respect to the Churchd which he was Patron, as the Magistrate had referved, with respect to the Churche of Towns and Cities. A Regulation fo well Contrived for the Satisfaction of all the World, met with fo much op polition in the Affembly of the States of Holland in the Year 1591. from fevent confiderable Cities, that it was not poffble to pass it into a Law.

In the Year 1612, the Pentionary Bar nevelt propos'd a Second time to the State of the Province, as more necessary than ever, by reason of the Quarrels that a rose about the Five Articles. Besides the the Synod and Classes did not dare make use of the prerended Herefie Remonstrates to Interdict those which he been chosen after this manner, by the Confent of the Confiftory's, and Mag

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strates, and Patrons; this Project had a considerable Advantage in the present Posture of the Churches of Holland. It allow'd the Magistrates to choose none but wife and moderate Paftors, and fuch as should be acceptable to all the World, and well inclined to Peace. When Barnevels spoke in the Assembly of the States of the Province, of the Revival of the Law propos'd in 1591. Their Opinions were then decided. Some thought it fit that they should publish it; others thought that it was more convenient first to have the consent of the Synode. These latter were apparently afraid that this Law should more provoke the Ministers of the Contra-Remonstrant Party, who grumbled very much that the States pretended fingly to decide matters belonging to Religion and the Government of the Church.

Barnevele, in this Affair, in which he was so heartily engaged so managed those that were concern'd, that he brought them all over to his own Opinion. The States of Moland at last resolv'd, that the Laws which had been Projected concerning Ecclesiastical affairs in the Year 1591, should be from that time observ'ds but they found great difficulty in the Execution of them: There arose immediately great Disputes both by word of Month and by Writing, concerning this Deliberation of the States. The Course Remonstrants said, that the States had gone be-

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yond the Bounds of their Lawful Authority, and that it was not fit for them to put their hand to the Cenfor, in Regularing the Doctrines of Faith; and the Government of the Church. The Remonstrants fide with the States, means they had opportunity to curry fawonr with the Government, and likewife found their account in the Enacting of this Law. The Armenians maintain'd. and not without Reason, that the States of Holland being Sovereigns in their Prowince, had power to Establish any thing that was not contrary to the Law of God, and to regulate the Government of the Church, to make Laws for the Secority of it's Peace, according to the Erample of Christian Emperors and Princes, which have done to before them, without any Contradiction from the primitive Church. So that for the future we thall find there were disputes in the United Provinces, not only about the Five Articles of the Remonstrants, but also about the Right of Patronage, and the Lawful Power of Sovereigns in matters of Faith and Discipline of the Church. This wa the occasion of an excellent Treating which Grotius published to the Work Grotius De This Learned Man does in that Book defend at large that which he had before advanced in an Apology for the States Holland, touching the Authority of the Bo

Imperio Summarum potestatum. circa Sacra.

But, before we speak of this Apology publish'd by Grotius, It is fit to fay fomehing concerning this Quarrel, which inreas'd every day in the United Provinces.

Before this time there had been Synod The diviligainst Synod, that of Vereche in 1612, ous increafeclare that the Five Articles of the Re-ed in the Umitrants were Tolerable. That of the vinces. rovince of Guelderland, maintains that the Doctrine contain'd in the Confeson of Faith, and in the Catechism of e Belgick Churches, was agreeable to e Word of God. The Synod Solemn- Preface des Engage themselves to maintain and de Sinode de nd it. In Some Cities they Suspend and Dordrecht. . pole the Remonstrant Ministers as Hereks; in others they drive out the Contraet, nonstrant as Violent and Seditious. e People being devoted to their Old nisters would not acknowledge those t were put in a Schism in one and the series a Schism in one and the part of the People assembled with the part of the People assemble to the Ma-Liv. Years: Another part stuck to the new XXI.

One Geselius gave a great deal of the ble to the Magistrates of Rosterdam.

The Magistrates published stanishes to the Magistrates published sanishes, giving an account of their duct to the People; Geselius answers the bis own Justification. In one Word fair But were not greater Divisions in the Y 2 Church t were put in their Room: So that there s a Schism in one and the same Church, Brand Hift. e part of the People assembled with de la Refor-Depos'd Minister in spite of the Ma- mation.

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Church in the time of Arianism. Circu-1613. lar Letters flew about to Exhort to forfake the Communion of those who embrac'd the Five disputed Articles. The ·Contra-Remonstrants call'd themselves the unjustly persecuted Church. They had a private Meeting in a Barn at Rotterdam, The Magistrates ordered it to be shut up the ContraRemonstrants open'd it again. Could they have had more Zeal and more Heat about the Fundamentals of the

Christian Religion!

During these Confusions Gomar quitted the Chair of Divinity-Professor at Leyden. and setir'd to Middleburg in Zealand Polyander a great Stickler for the same Opinion was put in his Place. The Remonstrants comforted themselves under this disappointment with Episcopius, being call'd to the same University. He had obtained a great Reputation in the Party, by his strong Defence of the Five Articles at the Conference in the Hague in 1611. There feem d to be a good um derstanding at first between the Two Professors: But it did not last long Whether twas that Polyander was Jer lous of the Reputation of Episcopius Man of uncommon Learning, of a clean fubtle and penetrating Head; whither he was urg'd by an honest Zeal and Love of the Truth, to prevent the Mil chiefs which the Free Opinions of Epil capius's, concerning Important Points Grace

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Grace and Predeftination might do in the University of Leyden. There arose an 1613. open War between the Two Professors. Poyander had a very strong Party. The liberty with which his Adversary difcours'd concerning the Nature and Attributes of God, the Trinity, and the Incarnation, did the Remonstrants a very great Injury, fince they were headed by

Episcopius and Uytenbogard.

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Bounds, and fluck closer to the Belief of pelft, bethe Ancient Church. Count William tween the Lewis of Nassau, Governor of Frizeland, Remonbeing at that time in the Hague, and the Contracontriving means to Calm these Contests Remonabout Religion, which were like to be of strants. ill Consequence to the Church and Common Wealth, brought Uytenbogard and Festus Hommius a Professor of Leyden, and one of the moderatest of the Contra-Remonstrants, to a Conference. The Count first of all asking them, if they could think of an Expedient, and to restore peace to the Churches of the United Provinces; Hommins answered, that 'twould not be hard to re-unite the differing Parties, if till fuch time as there should be a general Synod, the Remonstrants would declare politively that letting afide their Five Articles, they fincerely received the Confession of the Faith of the Belgick Churches, As for me, faith Uytenbogard, I have no other-private Sen-

The latter kept himself more within The Confe-

timents.

timents of my own, I am ready to Declare 1613. it, when you pleafe; And I don't doubt, but the Wiser part of the Remonstrants will do the same. This Declaration occasioned another Conference in the City of Delft. in the beginning of the Year 1613. between certain Select Persons on each Side-

> The States of Holland thought it convenient that there should be but Three Divines of a Side, when they came to Difcourse concerning means of healing their Divisions: The Kemonstrants propos'd the way of Toleration, and defired that their Adversaries should declare whether the Doctrine of the Five Articles were Tolerable or not. The Contra-Remonstraus were for a Convocation of a National Synod, which should definitively pronounce concerning the Five disputed Ar ricles. As for a Toleration added then you demand it in too general Terms, Tell # plainly if the Five Articles are the only Points in which you differ from the Confef sion of Faith, commonly receiv'd among w. Explain your Thoughts concerning the Satif faction of Fefus Christ, of Original Sin, and certain other Important Points. We bave taken out of the Books of Arminius, Vorstius, and some other Remonstrants, feveral Tenets that are contrary to the Cour fession of Faith, in other Essential Points, a well as thole of the Five Articles : Let w fee you Reject thefe Tenets, which are evident

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ly Bad. The Remonstrants answered, that Councils had often done more harm than good, that a Convocation of a National Synod did not look like a good Expedient to end the Quarrel, and that the Province of Holland did not think themselves obliged to submit themselves to the Judgment of the other Provinces in matters of Religion. As for the Declaration which Grotius Ayou require of us concerning the other Arti- pologeticus ticles of the Confession of Faith, said the corumqui Remonstrants, We will deliberate of that Hollandia Proposal with our Brethren. The likely we Cap. IV. may grant your desires, provided you will Sign that the Doctrine of the Five Articles is not contrary to the Fundamentals of Christianity. And thus, the Conference of Delft, was attended with no better Success than the preceding ones, They broke up without coming to any Resolution. Uytenbogard one of the Deputies for the Remonstrants,

had past at Delft. In good truth, these Divines and Professors are a strange sort of Men. Inflead of bringing things to a happy Conclusion, they are good for nothing; but to perplex them more, when they are left to their Prejudices and Paffions. What hindred them from giving Peace to their Churches and Country, which their Disputes expos'd to remediless Peril?

and Festus Hommius for the other Side, went immediately for the Hague, to inform the States of the Province of what

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only a ponctilio of Honour. The Remonstrants did not care to humour their Adversaries so far as to explain themselves upon certain Articles, and (I know not what) Tenets of Arminius and Vorfling. As for the Contra-Remonstrants they were afraid of giving ground of Triumph to the others, by letting them obtain a Connivance in favour of the Five Articles. what reason should they both refuse to make an advance which appear'd fo reasonable? With a little Charity and Condescention they might have prevented all those Miseries which ensued. For my part I cannot approve of the obstinacy of the Remonstrants on this oc-If they spoke sincerely, why did not they ftop the Mouths of their Adverfaries, by a clear and diftinct Explication of their Faith? It cannot be denied but that the Writings of Vorstius and fome others of that Party, give just ground of Suspicion, both to their Adversaries, and to wise and disinterested Persons.

In the mean time Untenbogard had the skill and Reputation to infinuate a good Opinion into the States of Holland, of the Conduct of the Remonstrants in the Conference of Delft. He excus'd their backwardness, by representing to them that the Contra-Remonstrants had a mind to have the same Power as the Inquisitors

of Spain. It is Lawful faid he, to proje cute Men when one bas sufficient Proof to 1613. Convict them : But to oblige those whom they think fit to suspect, to accuse themselves, is a Tyrranical Maxim of the Tribunal of the Inquisition. If we Teach any Heretick Do-Brines, our Adversaries have the Liberiy to Convict us : But if they have no Proofs against us; why should they spread abroad suspitions of Persons, whose Doctrines are Irreproveable. This come-off was specious, but had nothing in it at the Bottom. We ought not to think much to give a reason. of our Faith, when Charity and the Edification of our Neighbour, and the Confervation of Peace demand it. Certainly there was fomething in the Conduct of the Remonstrants which wanted Fairness. and Sincerity.

Uytenbogard and those of his Party, did James K. of not take so much Pains to obtain the loss preju-Favour of the States of Holland, but that difed athey did endeavour also to Efface the ill gainst the Impressions which his Brittish Majesty Arminians, had received of their Doctrines and their Ates du Persons. It was of high Concernment to Symude de the Remonstrants to withdraw from their Dordrecht-Adversaries that Support which they flat-gard Hist. tered themselves of receiving from King Ecclesiaf-James the I. Winwood his Ambassador at tique Part. the Hague, had prejudic'd him against the Brand Hist. Remonstrants, and the Archbishop of Can- de la Referterbury, the declared Enemy of the Opi-mation. nions of Vorstim, gave the King a bad

pologeticus eorum qui Hollandia Cap. VI. O in Epi-Adis.

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Character of them: In short, this Prelate imagin'd that all the Remonstrants Minifters, and the Magistrates their Prorector had an Inclination to Social anism, with Grotius 4- which he thought Vorstim was infected Untenbegard and the Rest thought good to oppose to the Archbishop, several Docton prafuerunt, and Prelates of the greatest Note and Me ritin England, and especially the learned Ca Saubon, whom his Majesty had a particular Value for. His Majesty owing his Entertainment of the Sentiments of Calvin concerning Predestination, more to the prejudices of his Education, than Reason or Study, Cafaubon and others eafily per fwaded him to liften to what they had to Offer in favour of the Remonstrants in Holland. These took the advantage of this favourable Conjuncture. They fent to Caron the Dutch Ambassador at London, a Memorial, in which the Questions is Debate were fairly and clearly Stated. This Memorial was read to the King and gave him Satisfaction. His Majefty writ a Letter to the States of Holland, and to sell them it was his Opinion that they should Tolerate the Remonstrance, and that the Magistrates should use their Aptherity to suppress their Disputes, and to forbid them to Preach fuch difficult and abarnse Doctrines. The King's Letter extreamly vext the Contra-Remonstrants: bus is did quite dicourage them. They fent privately into England a Memorial, 10

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to perswade the King that they had impor s'd upon him. The Conduct of the States eft there of the Government, was there roil'd at in to outrageous a manner, that his Majesty sent a Coppy of it in a Lerter which be wrote to the States of Holland blood a to be hard bord mer

Groving was fent into Bugland about this time, to adjust fome Affairs for the East-India Company : I am aprio think there was something else in the Bottom of this Commission. The States of Holhand were very glad that fo able a Man undertook to undeceive the King of Gwar-Britain, and that he Conferr'd upon the Five Articles with the Bishops and chief Divines of England, I Grovins found that the Bilhop of Bly the Dean of St. Paul's of London, Calanbon and feveral others were very nigh of the fame Opinion with the Arminians, in the Points of Grace and Predeftination on. They att gave him a favourable hearing, except the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was always deeply prejajudic'd against the Remonstrate, and confequently against Growing, who Strenuonfly defended them. He had many Audiences of the King, who frankly sold him, that the Opinions of Caloin and Beza feemed to him too Rigid; and that according to their thepothesis God would be the Author of Sin. But his Majesty

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Majesty persisted always to Condemn the ill Opinions which he had observed in Vorstim's his Writings. To gain his Favour, it was necessary to Reject whatfoever favour'd of the Impious paradoxes of Socious, concerning the Divivinity and Person of Jesus Christ. If you have a mind that I should entertain a better Opinion of Uytenbogard, and the Remonstrants said the King to Grotiut, you muft. perfwade me that thefe Men don't favour Socinianism, Grotius informed Uttenbogard his Friend of his Majesty's Opinion concerning him and the rest of his Party. Hereupon Ur tenbogard by the advice of Grotim, writ a Letter to Cafaubon, that he might thew it the King. He plainly law that Uytenbegard had too great an Efleem for Vorftim.

milter of publiches Libel reflecting on the States erderd to anfwer it.

Sibrand Mi- The Contra Remembrants did all they Frizeland, could to hinder the success of the Nea gociations of Grotim in England. A Professor of the University of Frameker in Frizeland, by Name Sybrand, wrote of Holland, against Verstim, whom he accused of Grotius is maintaining an Hundred Herefies. The Book was Dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Under pretence of praising the King of Great-Britain for she Zeat which his Majesty had difcovered against Vorstine, Sibrand in his Epifile Dedicatory accuses the Cara-

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tors of the University of Leyden, and the States of the Province, of a defign to 1613. introduce Socinianism into Holland. He U endeavoured to render the Conduct of the States suspected, because they would not Consent to the calling a National Synode; he pretended that the Civil Power went beyond the bounds of their Authority, in taking Cognizance of Religious Controversies, which ought not to be Treated of but in an Ecclefiastical Assembly; He declaimed against the Revival of the Law made in 1591. in short, he maintained that the Magistrates had nothing to de with the calling of Pastors and the Government of the Church. The States of Holland were highly affronted at the Sauciness and Insolence of this Prize land Minister. He might have Refuted the Errors of Vorstim; and they would have had nothing to fay against him: Was it pardonable for a private Ordinam Hollandie Person to publish such vile Calumnies ac Weffri against the Governors of a Province six pietas. Allied to bis own, and to speak Reproachfully of Laws which they had Right to publish. Grotim was ordered to make an Apology for the States of Holland. He acquitted himself wonderfully well of fo Honourable a Charge. His Book is Wrote very Elegantly, full of lively Strokes against his Adverfary,

fary, and is altogether a learned Compolure, worthy of its incomparable Author. He there fully Juftifies the Conduct of the Seares of Holland in the Affair of Arminianism: Grotius there Treats by the by, of the Authority and necessity of Councils, and Solidly and Frirmly Establishes the Power of Sovereigns in matters of Religion, and the Government of the Church. Sibrand endeavour'd to answer Groting : But be was not a Match for him. It Coft Grotius only Three or Four Sheets to thew that the Professor of Francker was an unfair Man, and that he understood not the things that he pretended to talk of.

Bona fides Sibrandi Lubberti. Edit des Etats de Hollande pour affeu pir le dift-rend fui les Questions dela Prèdestination o de la Grace. Mercure Francois.

1614. Uytenbeg ard Ecclesia. Part. IV. 1614. Brand Hifterie de la Historie Livre XXL Preface des Astes du Sinode de Reformation Grtetii Epiftela. 1614. Dordrecht.

The States of Holland were very well pleased with the Advice of the King of England, that they should Employ their Authority to suppress these Difuntes, and Command the Divines of both Sides, Charitably to bear with one another, not to diffurb any longer the Peace of the Church with abstruce Questions of no Importance to Salvation. Gratius now Pentionary of the City Romer dam, had Orders to prepare an Edick which they should propose to the Affembly of the States of Holland, Here

occurred great Difficulties. One Side faid that it was fit that the Five Ar- 1613. ticles should be Confidered in the Synode, before they that maintained. them should be Tolerated by Law. To give leave to any, faid they, in the . Same Church, in the Same Pulpit, to Preach Such contrary Doctrines, i to expofe the Province to great Deftractions. The Disputes, Replied the others are about Speculative Dostrines, which are of no Importance to Salvation. What Inconvenience is there in giving every one the Liberty of Speaking their own Thoughts with Modesty? The Emperors and Christian Princes bave often without the Affiftance of the Clergy made Laws to Regulate the Doctrine and Practice of the Church. These Reasons did not then Convince the Deputies and Magistrates of several Ciries of Holland. They a long time denied their Consent to the publication of the Edich. These of Amsterdam were more obstinate than the reft. They Demanded that their Diffent should be Entred in the Register of the State.

And hence it came about, that the Edict Projected in the Year 1613, was not published till the beginning of the Year 1614. The States of Holland Exhorted the Ministers when they Preache from those Texts where Predefination

deftination is mentioned, to follow the Precept of St. Paul, and to Preach that the Beginning, Progress and End of Salvation was owing alone to the Grace of Jesus Christ, and not to Works of those that are Called. They were forbid to Preach that God made Men to damn them; and that he puts them under a necessity of Sinning, and that he invites those to Salvation, whom he has resolved never to Laftly, the States Ordered that they should not be molested, who in explaining the Doctrine of Predestination, Suppose that Men are saved by the alone Grace of Jesus Christ, in persevering in the Faith unto the End, and that all those that believe not in Jesus Christ are damned: As for all other Doctrines, the States forbid them to Preach any that was not agreeable to the Doctrines commonly received in the Chuches of Holland.

So far was this Edict which was drawnup with fuch Care to fatisfie all the World. from Calming the Tempest which had some time continued, that it encreased its Fury, forne Contra-Remonstrants Ministers wrote Books to persuade the People not to fubmit to the Edick. They openly accus'd the States of favouring Popery, and of introducing a bad Doctrine into the United Provinces. Uytenbogard wrote in Defence of the Edict of the States. There came out every day some Book or other for, and against the Edict. One

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for Sibrand and another for Grotius. This Division entred the Churches. The Contra-Remonstrants being resolved to hold no more Communion with their Adversaries, met by themselves in private Houses.

It was matter of great Dispute between them, whether the Edict was approved of in England, or no. Grotius received a Letter from Cafaubon, a Man equally fincere and accomplished with all polite Learning. Cafaubon affur'd his Friend, that the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury and several other Prelates of greatest Note had approved of the Edict. The Strain in which it is Writ, fays Casaubon, seems to the Ring and to the Rest equally distant from the Two oppisite Extremes, Manicheism and Pelagianism. The necessity of Grace is there Establishe. The Contra-Remonstrants produc'd of their Side Letters from England, which Imported, that neither his Brittannick Majesty, nor the Prelates of the Church of England approv'd the Edict, and the Conduct of the States of Holland. But upon the whole, the Testimonies of Ca-Saubon who in Person spoke to the King, and the Bishops seems preferrable to any angry Mans Letters, which the Contra-Remonstrants pretended to.

THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

REIGN

OF

LEWIS XIII.

King of France and Nevarre.

BOOK V.

HE Joy which Mary de Medich had conceived to see her self, delivered from a Rupture with Spain, occasioned by the Affair of Mantua, was of short Continuance. The Retreat of the Prince de Conde and several other Discontented Lords, who by Consent had left the Court in the beginning of the Year 1614. very much

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allarmed her Majesty. The Mareschal de Bovillon had very cunningly Formed 1614. this new Party to ferve his own Interests. This fubtle and ambitious Man, taking it ill that he was not intrusted enough in Memorie du the management of Affairs, and that the Duc de Regent did not Reward him suitably to Siri Memoithe great Services he imagined he had re recondite done her Majesty, try'd to make himself To. III. p. necessary to the Queen and her Ministers, 222. by involving them in Troubles, out of which he alone was able to deliver them. he persuades with all his Hereupon might the Prince de Conde whom the Queen had difgusted by the denial she had given him of the Chateau-trompette, and by recalling the Old Ministers, who he thought were utterly turned of, as also by the hasty Rise of Conchina who had been drawn of from his Parry, publickly to make known his Discontent. The Dukes de Nevers, de Maienne, de Vendôme, de Longueville, de Piney-Luxembourg, and feveral others being brought over by the Mareschal de Bevillon, enter into New Engagements with the first Prince of the Blood. They agree to retire all from Court almost at the same time, and to

meet in Champagne in order to Demand conjunctly Redress of the Disorders of the Government. An Illusion with which the Princes and great Lords have too often blinded the Eyes of the People, when they have a mind to make use of them, to

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1614. Love effect their own private Defigns. The People would have been Fool'd by them to this very day in France, If having been less Covetous of the Preferments of the Court, they had had at least the Wit to have kept them from utter Slavery, and had not utterly incapacitated them to joyn with them upon occasion. But the Princes and great Lords by Sacrificing the Interests of the People to their own avarice and ambition, are now themselves undone without Remedy. After having opprest those who might have stood by them, It was an easie matter to reduce them to a moit shameful Slavery.

The Party which was then form'd under the specious Pretence of the publick Welfare, might have done good Service to the whole Kingdom, if those who Lifted themselves in it, had done it with an bonefter Defign, and had taken better Measures. Nevers Commanded in Champagne, Maienne in the Isle of France, Vendome in Bretagne, Longueville in Picardie, the Government of which the Comte de St. Pol his Uncle had Surrendred to him. But the Mareschal de Bovillon upon whom they most depended by reason of his wisdom and his Sovereignty of Sedan, had no mind to Unite a Party which he was not able to diffipate, when he should find it for his advantage so to do. The Prince of Conde Retired to Chateauroux, an Estate which he had in Berri. Duke

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Duke de Nevers went to Champagne, Maienne to Soissons, the Dukes de Longueville 1614. and de Vendome were shortly to follow: But the latter having delayed too long, was feized at the Louvre, and kept Mercura close Prisoner in a Chamber by the Re- Francois. gent's Order. The Mareschal de Bovillon was one of the last to leave the Place. Memoires To render himself less suspected, he got Rohan. himself Commissioned to Visit the Minifters first, and to declare to them the Intentions of the Prince and the Reft. The Mareschal was always Master of the Affair, and could manage Conde as pleased; he made no offer to ftir from Court, till he had first promised the Queen to bring back Conde and all the

'Twas fo much for the Duke of Savor's Artifices of Interest to find business for Mary de Me the Duke of dicis in France, that he must by all means Savoy to Correspond with the Prince de Conde. vil War in Besides that a Civil War would incapa- France. citate the Regent to fuccour the House of Mantua, Charles Emanuel had yet further hopes that the Prince and Lords combined with him, breaking the double Marriage, which was concluded with Spain as they pretended to him, he would revenge himself on the Regent, in forcing her to give her Eldeft Daughter to the P. of Piedmont, and perform the Promise which the late K. had made him. The D. of Savoy at the fame time that he held a private Correspon-

Lords of his Party:

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dence with the Party, endeavoured to amuse the Regent; he exhorted her vigoroufly to exert her Authority against all that should oppose it. The Agents of Charles Emanuel had Orders to Protest to her Majesty that he did readily forget all the occasions of Complaint, and the Affront the had given him in the Sight of all Europe, by the Treaty of the double Marriage with Spain; that he was extremely concern'd to fee the new Troubles which Men of a Factious and unquiet Disposition gave her; and that he never had a Thought as fome Persons would accuse him, to support the Party of the Prince of Conde, and to give him any Affistance. Although his Highness said the Agents of Savoy to the Regent, Doubts not but your Majesty's Prudence will foon diffipate this new Faction, as you have the former, the sincere Respect which the Duke our Master bas for the Crown of France, makes him take the Liberty to offer his Mediation to your Majesty, If you believe 'twill be of any Service to you. He would likewife offer his own Perfon and his Troops, if be was not persuaded that your Majesty has no need of fuch weak Affiftance, and if be was not under a necessity of putting strong Garrisons into bu own Towns, till the Difference between him and the House of Mantus should be adjusted.

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1614.

The Regent had need of more fincere and honest People than the Duke of Secor. The King of Spain and the Duke d Lorrain offered her their Affiftance as well as Charles Emanuel: But ber Different Majesty had no Inclination to bring Fo- advice in reign Troops into her Country. That of France, might have been the way jo have made how to difmore Rife than-did. The Duke d'Eser-sipate the non was immediately called back, whom the Prince the Queen had again disobliged, fince of Conde. her lait Reconciliation with him. There Memoires de was more of Oftentation than Reality in la Regence the generous and difinterested Temper, Medicis. which this Noble-Man affected, when he was recall'd. Epernon had a little before solicited the Queen to receive the Office of Vie du Duc first Gentleman of the Chamber, which he Liv. VL had enjoy'd under Henry IV. and to bestow it on Candale his Eldeft Son. Being disoblie'd that he could not obtain a thing which he thought due to his Services, he defired have to go to Mets, of which Place he was Governor. But when the began to hear the threatning Storm to Roar, the pacifi'd the Dake d'Epernou by granting what she had before refused. The Duke de Guise received also new marks of diftinguishing Favour. He pleased himself with the hopes of being General of the King's forces, in case they hould March against the Prince of Conde.

Twas the Advice of the Cardinal de Joicufe, of the Duke d'Eporpon, and de Villeroi.

1614.

Villeroi. They faid that the Malecontents not having Troops nor Money, nor any Place of Retreat, that therefore they should pursue them out of hand with the Troops of his Majesty's Houshold; and that if his Majesty should advance as far as Rheims with that little Body of Men. the Prince and the Lords of his Parry, being surprized unawares, would be neceffitated humbly to implore the King's Mercy, or to flee out of the Kingdom in Disorder and Confusion. The New Mareschal d'Ancre and Chancellor de Sillery were of another Opinion, they faid it were better first to Treat with them. He could not endure that the Duke de Guise whom he both hated and feared, should have the Command of the Army. The other being fallen out more than e ver with Villeroi, was blindly led by Conchini. Ever fince the death of Madam de Puisieux the Chancellor's Eldest Son's Wife, and Grandaughter of Villeroy, thefe two could never agree. Dole a Creature of the Mareschal d'Ancre, was disgusted upon the Conclusion of the Marriage of the Marquis de Villeroy, Grandson of the Secretary of State, because they had not given Dole the Office of Controller of the Finances, which the Marquis d'A lincourt Son of Villerry had given him hopes of, in case the Marquis de Villern thould Marry the Daughter of Conchini. The Chancellor de Sillery took the advantage

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vantage of this Discontent of Dole, to gain the Favour of the Mareschal d'Ancre 1614. and to Ruin his Rival, with whom Conchini had fallen out.

This Second Expedient pleased the Regent best, who relied upon the affurances that the Mareschal de Bovillon had Mercure

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given her. She sent the Duke de Venta-Francois. dour and Boiffise Counsellor of State, to Invite the Prince of Conde, who was thought to be at Chateauroux, to Return to his Post at Court. Villeroy could not forbear faying, that the exposed her felf to the same Inconvenience which befel Henry III.when the League first took Arms against him. The Duke d'Epernon had adviled him to March immediately against the Duke de Guife, who could not then make any Resistance : But Henry not listening to such wholesome Advice, rashly threw himself into those Missortunes which coft him his Life. God grant, faid Villeroy, that the same thing doth not befall us, since we neglect to crush this Conspiracy in its Birth, which is likely to produce great Revolutions in the State. They thought that this Old Statesman spoke thus only to get the Command of the Army for the Duke of Guife, and that he would not be forry to fee a Civil War, which might in the Issue prove fatal to the Mareschal & Ancreand the Chancellor de Sillery. The Prince de Conde and the Duke de Guise hated them both. Conde would

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1614.

would have had them removed from Court, if he could have had any advantage against them; and the Duke de Gnise would have done his endeavour to have remov'd them, as foon as he thould have been at the head of the King's Army. The Duke d'Epernon angry that his advice to oppose the Malecontents with an open force, was not followed, refolved not to affift at any Treaties which they should afterwards hold with the Prince and the united Lords, where the Kine was to buy of his Subjects a fhort liv'd Peace at a shameful Rate.

The Circular Letter of the Regent upon Retreat of the Prince de Conde. and the Lords of his Party.

Mercure Francoise. 1614.

When the Duke de Vantadour and Boiffife were gone to the Prince de Conde in Berri, the Regent wrote a Circular Letters dated the 13th February, to all the Parlements of the Kingdom, to the Governors of Provinces and other Places, to the Provoft of the Merchants, to the Mayors and Sheriffs of the Cities, to exhort them to remain faithful to the King, and not fuffer themselves to be surprized by the Prince de Conde and his Party. If you will believe Mary de Medicis, These Gentlemen had no just ground of Complaint, neither with relation to their own private Interest, nor to the Administration of the publick Affairs, Her Majety had Treated this Prince and those Lords with all the Respect imaginable, she had heap'd as many Favours on them as they could reasonably desire, and had taken no

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no Step of any consequence without their Advice. The Kingdom was in as flou- 1614. rishing and quiet a Condition, the Digniw of the Crown of France as well Supported, the People as easie and happy as ever. To write the History of a Reign from Manifesto's, from prefaces of Edicts and Declarations, from Letters and other Papers published under the King's Name, is to have but very bad Authority for what one writes. In the mean time to muse the People with the hopes of a beter Government, the Regent declared in Letter that her Majesty resolv'd to call s they speak in France an Assembly des Notables of all Orders in the Kingdom. which they should consult together for be publick Welfare.

Ventadour and Boiffife had Intelligence The Duke de pon the Road, that the Prince de Conde Neversseinas gone from Chateauroux, and defigned es on the país the Loir, accompanied by 30 or Mezieres in Horse. They sent one of their Com-Chammy to inform him of their Commissi- pagne. , and to know where they might meet m. Conde refused to receive the King's Mercure eputies, and went immediately into Francoife. teived him. The Prince was immediely Conducted to Chalons, from thence pers and he went to Megieres. Defcues Commanded there in the absence of Marquis de la Vierville. There ing a good understanding between him and Z 2

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and the Duke de Nevers. Descuroles made as if he would thut the Gates of the Cittadel, and defend it according to the Order which he had received from Viewwille. But the Prince and the Duke de Nevers threatning to attack it, if he did not shew expreis Orders from her Majesty to Relift them, Descuroles received the Prince and Duke into the Place. Nevers wrote afterwards to the Queen. to complain of the Marquis of Vieuville, to defire that Justice might be done him for the refiftance that had been made him. who was the Governor of the Province. Was not this to Affront the Queen, under pretence of paying, I know not what respect to the Majesty of a Sovereign?

The Prince de Conde perote to the Regent a Letter in Form of a Manifesto. Mercure Francois.

1614.

The Prince de Conde, the Dukes de Nevers, de Maienne, de Longueville, and fome others of the chief of the Party, being met at Mezieres, Conde wrote a long Letter to the Queen in form of a Manifesto. He expresseth there an extraordinary Zeal for the publick Good, and offers to Reftore the Pentions and Gratifications which he had from the King, to her Majesty's hand, when all the States shall be assembled, and Act with entire Liberty: In a Word, he speaks much like the Ancient Greek and Romans; of whole Impartial Justice we read of in History. If he had a mind to impose upon the World, he should have taken care that his Actions did not

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contradict his Words. In truth, the Complaints which the Prince de Conde and 1614. those of his Party made concerning the wasting of the Treasury, the giving the highest Employments to People unworthy of them, the roo great Authoriry of the Ministers, the little Respect that was paid to the Princes and Peers of the Realm, the Officers of the Crown, the Obstacles which the Parlement found in exercifing of their Power, the Ruine of the Nobles, the exceffive Price of the Places of Judicature, the Oppression of the People, neglecting to Assemble the States of the Kingdom, the Haste with which they. had concluded the Marriage of the King before his Majority; all these Complaints I fay, were well founded. In the mean time, what ever Protestations the Prince of Conde made, that he had no other defign. but to procure an effectual Remedy for these heavy Grievances, yet the World could never firmly believe the integrity of his Intentions, nor the fincerity of his Words. He added to thefe, Three or Four Demands which were not less Reafonable; the Assembling of the States of the Kingdom within Three months at farthest, the Suspending the Marriage of the King and his Sifter, till after the fitting of the States, and the placing near her Majesty, Persons of known Honesty and Integrity.

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Conde at the same time wrote to the Prince of Conti his Uncle, to the Dukes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown, to the Parlements, to Cardinals, and he fent them a Copy of the Letter he had fent to the Queen. In that to the Parlement of Paris, he Stiled them, the Chief Guardian of the Kingdom. He was willing to give them an account of his Actions, he defired their Advice and Concurrence in this Laudable undertaking of his. to Reform the Government. Thus it is that Kings and Princes, and great Lords have used to play with a Senate, the Chief Members whereof being Ambitious and Slaves to the Court, take no to maintain its Reputation and When Authority. there are hopes that the Parlement of Paris will be of any use to impose upon the People, they bestow upon it magnificent Titles, and Treat it with the greatest Honour and

Respect imaginable; but when these Considerations cease, they despise and ridicule it. The Parlement upon this occasion gave a Proof of its Weakness. They would not open the Letter which the Prince de Conde sent them. Two of their Members were deputed to carry it to the Queen, who sent them to the Chancellor. I should not have found fault with these grave Magistrates for not relying much upon a young Prince, whose little Genius and low Conduct gave them

The weakness of the Parlement of Paris on this occasion.

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no great hopes; but what shall we say of People that pretend to be the Guardians 1614. of Kings ? Here we see they dare not open a Letter written by a first Prince of the Blood, to complain of the ill Administration of Affairs during a Minority. Our Fathers were then Born to Slavery, and we have gone on in the Paths they chalkt out to us.

None of the Parlements had the Reflections Courage to Answer the Prince, several upon Cardi-Officers of the Crown fent their Letters nal Perron's to Court unopened, some few Printed answer to Answers. I find that of Cardinal Perron Conde. feems to me to deserve some Reflection. This flattering and mercenary Pen did not dare to deny that there was a great Mercure many disorders to be regulated in the Francois. Government under the Minority of Lewis XIII. They have been pleased to multiply them fince his Minority, and during the long Reign of his Son. How great a Reformation is necessary now, and who at this time dares to Demand it ? One of the Ancients, faid the Cardinal, bath wifely faid, that there is no Prince fo bad, but that he is better than a Civil War. And thus we may say of the Government of Kingdoms, that there is no Administration, let it be what it will, but it is better than Civil Difcord. Whether the Author who laid down this Maxim be a Greek or Latin one, it is all one to us, if we take it in its urmost Extent, it tends only to Esta-

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o blish Tyranny in the World. Would it be better to endure all the extravagancies and Bloody cruelties of a Caligula and Nero, than' to take Arms to Resist such abominable Monsters? If any fay that these two never had their like. I will grant it. But they that follow too near the Politicks of Philip II. of Spain, and Charles IX. of France, will find some there like them. Is it not lawful to defend one's Life and Liberty against such Tyrants? I confess ris often better to bear the inconvenience of a bad Prince to a certain degree than to raile a Civil War. A good Prince is a great Rarity. The World would never be in Peace, if it were lawful to take Arms, as foon as a Prince ceases in all Inftances perfectly to do his Duty. But that a King who loads his Subjects with heavy Taxes to Indulge a boundless Luxury and Ambition, who Sacrifices without Remorfe, the lives of a million of Men to his Vast and Unrighteous designs, who Ruins at pleasure the Nobles of his Country, who overthrow's the Priviledges of Princes and Great Noble-Men, who Orders that his Edicts, how contrary foever to the publick Good shall be Registred, before there can be any Remonftrances made, who shuts up the mouths of Parliaments, who Banishes and Imprisons without any legal Process, those who testifie their dislike of his Ufurpations upon his Subjects and his Neigh-

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Neighbours, who abolifies without all Realon the most facred and inviolable 1614. Laws, who thinks it meritorious to make a million of Men miserable, because they won't renounce a Religion, which, I may fay, they have had the liberty to be Born and Bred up in, who does his ntmost to enslave a Nation which has been always Free; that fuch a Prince as I describe, is better than a Civil War, undertaken and carried on with wildom and discretion, so that one might hope for fome redress of those miseries, which would be but increased by patiently enduring of them; this is the thing the Cardinal du Perron will never persuade Men of Sente to believe, with all his Skill and Rhetorick.

Mary de Medicis returned a large An-Answer of fwer to the Prince de Conde, in Form Mary de Medicis to likewise of a Manifesto, to clear her self the Prince from his Imputations, and to shew the of Conde. irregularity of his Conduct, who accus'd Mercure of Francoife. her. If her Majesty does not make the best Defence with respect to some Articles, yet with respect to others, the gives good Answers enough. The greatest number of those Disorders which the Prince Complains of, began before the Regency. The Avarice of Conde himself, and of the Lords, put her under a neceffity of wasting the Treasure, which had been heap'd up by the lare King. They increased the number of Malecon-

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rents, form'd Cabals, threatned to Rife : So that the was obliged continually to give them Money, to appeale some, to retain others. To what purpose did the Prince begin to Complain now in the Fourth Year of a Regence, which was now expiring? Had he not done much better, to have employed that Reputation and Authority, which the Quality of first Prince of the Blood gave him, in endeavouring to Establish a good Council, and to regulate the Administration of Affairs. But instead of applying himself to that, which was of absolute necessity, he spent his time in Intrigues, to remove one, or prefer another. His irresolution and mildness of Temper, made him a Cully to all the Factions that were on Foot at Court, during the Minority of Lewis the XIII. Nevertheless Mary de Medicis fearing left the Prince should strengthen his Party by reason of the general Discontent of Men of all Ranks, through the Kingdom, Judged that the furest way to allay the begun Heats and Animolities, was to promise in her Answer to the Prince of Conde, an Assembly of the States of the Kingdom, in order to redress every thing which they Complained of. This experiment succeeded well. The Faction of the Prince was weakned, and her Majesty took Care that the Assembly of the States, should not entirely answer their Expectrations. But

But the did not fo far rely on the way of Negociation refolv'd on in Council, nor 1614. upon the affurances of the Mareichal de Bovillen, that she had no thoughts of having an Army ready to Fight the Prince Mary de of Conde, in case they refused the ad-Medicis vantageous accommodation which was thousand proposed to them by the President of Swilles. Thou, whom the Queen fent for that purpose into Champagne. This Magistrate, whose integrity and ability, the Princes and great Lords had a Respect for, had aConference, with them at Soiffon, in which he endeavoured to adjust the matters in dispute between them and the Queen. To fecure herfelf against the Fears of the Maleconrents, it was refolv'd to fend away the Colonel Galaris into Switzerland, to raise Six thousand Men of his own Nation. Butthe Duke of Rohan, who was made Colone! General of the Swiffes by the late K. was suspected by the Queen. She did not dare to trust him with a Body of Troops, in which the chief strength of the King's Army was to confift. Mary de Medicis, the thought convenient, to make another Colonel General of the Swiffes, in the Room of the Duke of Roban, and to give him a Sum of Money in requitat. Roban, whose great Design was to be Head of those of his own Religion, whon he was willing to Defend, and to maintain the Reputation which he had gotten by his Zeat, and Probity in Poitest.

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Poitou, in Guicane, and Languedoc, where he had very well Supported the Interest of the Reformed Party, against the Connestable Governor of the Province; Rober I fay, was not concerned to keep his Poft near the King. A Sum of Money was very welcome to him in the present posture of Affairs.

The business was to get a Man de-

Baffompierre is made Collenel Ge- voted to the Queen, and agreeable to the the Room of Rohan.

neral of the Swiffes. She proposed Baffompierre in Swiffes, in the Council. But Villeroy, who favour'd the Duke of the Duke of Longueville, whose Family he was a great Friend to, told her Majesty, that the Place of Colonel General of the Swiffes had always been fill'd by a Prince, and that the late King promifed to give it to no Person, but one of that Rank, when he renew'd his Ancient Alliance with the Thirteen Cantons. The Duke of Rohan, faid Villeroy, was afterwards chosen as a Prince of the Blood of Navarre and Scotland. Several of the Ancestors of the Duke of Longueville have Commanded the Swiffes. The offering him this Post of his Forefathers, will be a likely way to draw him off from the Party of the Male-contenss. Mary did not approve of trufting a young Lord, who clared against her, and who had often guarrelled with the Mareschal d' Ancre, abour the Execution of their Offices. Longueville was Governor of Picardy, and Conchini of the City and Castle of Amiens

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miens. Because Bassompierre was excluded by the Treaty with the Swifes, Mary 1614. de Medicis proposed the Chevalier du Guise, who unhappily died a little after. Villeroy interposed a Second time, by saying that this would open the mouths of the Male-contents more than ever, who complained of the too high preferments.

of the House of Guile.

Twas happy for Bassompierre, that they did not come to a resolution then-After he understood from the Queen her felf, that he was excluded from the Office of Collonel General of the Swiffes, because he was not one of the Princes. he used all his endeavours to take away. this obstacle. One of the Montmorenci's having had this Employ with the confent of the Helvetick Nation, Galatu a Friend of Bassompierre's, undertook after all to obtain for him the consent of the Cantons. He acquainted the Queen with this. who gave him Three Weeks, to try, what might be done. Galatis went directly to Switzerland, where he obtained: leave to raise Six thousand Men, and the Consent of the Thirteen Cantons in favour of Baffompierre. And thus this. Lorain Gentleman became a Collonel General of the Swiffes. The sooner to. bring this advantageous bufiness to an. Iffue, he paid out of his own Estate the Money promised to the Duke of Roban. But her Majesty afterwards re-embursed. him.

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him. Bassompierre was afraid that if the Duke of Rohan was not paid presently, he might have some contrivance to prevent him from an Employ that was likely to

be a Step to higher preferment.

The Conduct The better to Engage the Prince of of the Reformed in Government, the Mareschal de Bovillon she Assair of flattered them with hopes, that the Rethe prince of formed Churches, would declare for Conde. He had taken care to discover Memoires of this Project to the most intimate Friends

the Duke of of the Duke of Rohan, whether it were Rohan. that the cunning Mareschal had a mind

that the cunning Mareschal had a mind to make the Prince believe that Roban would readily join him, or whether he had a mind to raife yet greater fuspicions in the Court against a Person, whom he had a mind to Ruine, and make himfelf more necessary to the Regent, Condeseem'd so well persuaded of the favourable Inclinations of the Huguenot Party, that he wrote to the Deputy Generals of the Reformed Churches to let them know the Obligations he had laid upon them, in not forgetting the Interests of the Protestants in the Manifesto, which he had Addressed to the Queen : But the Wife du Pleffis-Mornai, had the precaution to prevent the Deputy Generals from interesting themselves in this Affair, and to prescribe to them the Conduct which they were to observe in this Conjuncture. After having reflected upon the Sreps of the Prince.

Prince, and the measures which he had taken with the Male-contented Lords, 1614. du Plessis said very aprly, that they which Halt at the Threshold, are not like to go far. And when he had read the Prince of Conde's Letter to the Queen, he faid Judiciously to the Ambaffador of the States General of the United-Provinces to the Queen, that he could not imagine what was the Principle of that Charity, which the Prince of Conde and his Party pretended to the Reformed Churches. These Gentlemen, added he, are no less at the Devotion of the Pope than the Queen ber felf, of whom they Complain. The Court of Rome will interpose to reconcile them, and bis Emissaries will not fail to make us more odious, if we imprudently Side with those who hate us in reality, and follicite us, only with hopes thereby to obtain better Terms for themselves.

Villarnoux came to visit du Plessis, his The wisdom Father-in-Law, upon the sirst report of of du Plessis the Rising of the Prince of Conde. He Mornai. Sent him immediately back to Paris, with Orders, to admonish the Deputy-Generals, that they should take Care, not to draw the Reproach upon themselves, of Rising upon any other account, but the obtaining of the liberty of their Conscience. That would be to wrong their good Cause, to mix with it Interests purely Civil, and that those of the Religion, as they were Resourced Christians, ought

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not to meddle with the Reformation of the State. Altho, added he, we should think it. our Duty to joyn with them as French-men, who defire it of us; the Opportunity is not Inviting, the design of the Prince according to all appearance will not succeed. His Retreat will be look'd upon a an effect of his Discontent, or as a desire to Embroil the State. The Queen will eafily break all their Measures by promising to afsemble the States of the Kingdom, and to defer the Marriage of the King. To what purpose do they think to meet together in a Corner of France? Those People which the King can Attack without making any great diversion of his Forces, will not continue long before they are reduc'd to beg his Mercy. The Event justified this right Guess of this able Old Man. Conde could not have drawn himself out of the Intrigue so safely, if the Mareschal de Ancre had non apprehended that the Duke de Guise would have been too powerful, if he should have had the Command of the Royal Army.

When the Mareschal de Bovillon had The prince of joined the Prince of Conde in Champagne, cites the Re-he advis'd him to fend some of his Domesticks to the Heads of the Huguenor formed. Party, to exhort them to take Arms. Conde and Bovillon had each their particular Defigns in this Step. The first hop'd to make a more advantageous Treaty with the Regent, if the Reformed De-

clared

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clared in his Favour. The other thought to make himself doubly necessary, to re- 1614. claim the Prince, and the Discontented Lords, and to Travers the Defigns of the Duke de Roban amongst the Reformed. Des Marais Lieutenant of the Princes Guards was of the Religion, he feemed a fit Man to Negotiate with the Duke of Roban, they fent him therefore to St. Jean d'Angeli, with Orders to pals first through Saumur, and to found his old Friend du Plessis Mornai. They did not doubt, if Roban and du Plessis would liften to the proposals of the Prince, but that the Credit and Reputation of these Two Men, would draw after them all the Protestant Party in France.

Mary de Medicis did likewise manage The wife and the chief Men amongst the Reformed, pleilis Morthe fent immediately to the Mareschal nai, to the de Lesdiguieres to Treat at the same time Regent and with those of the Religion, and the Prince the prince of Conde. of Conde and the discontented Lords to Hist. du hinder the one from being drawn over, and Cometable to persuade the other to an accommoda- de Lesdition. The Duke of Roban was likewife Liv. VIII. folicited by her Majesty; he answered, Chap. 6. that his Defign was always to adhere to Memoires de the Reformed, and that the readiest and Rohan. furest way to reduce the Party of the Prince of Conde was to give Satisfaction to the reformed Churches, who are able to weigh down the Scales to that Side which they should be of. As for du Plef-

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of is Mornai, the President Feannin and the Queen her self writ obliging Letters to him. They knew that this Gentleman, who was very honest and zealous for the welfare of his Religion. and his Country, might be gained, by thewing themselves willing to maintain the Edicts which were granted by the late King to his Reformed Subjects. They gave therefore du Plessis the highest bopes in the World, in this respect. Feannin affured him that the Regent had not Concluded the double Marriage with Spain, with a defign to Effect the Ruine of the Protestants in Conjunction with the House of Austria. The Marriage which is at present Negociated with England, faid this cunning and diffembling Minister, is a convincing Proof of the Contrary. This business is in such forwardness, that in my Opinion nothing can hinder it. In the mean time, they had no defire to Conclude it. This was but a Trick to amuse the Protestants, whom the double Marriage Alarm'd through all Europe.

Du Plessis gave the Ministers and the Regent, all possible affurance of his Fidelity and Devotedness to the Service of their Majesties. He took this occasion to represent to the Court, how important it was for the Peace of the Kingdom, exactly to observe the Edicts, which had been granted to the Reformed, who were better Subjects than the Catholicks,

when

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when they were left to the free Exercise of their Religion. The Answer which du Plessis gave the Prince of Conde, is yet more worthy of his great Wildom. We have feen several Princes, faith he, use the Vie de Mr. specious Presences of the publick Good, only Live III. to carry on their own particular Interest. I 1614. would believe the Designs of bis Highness are upright and fincere, but that is not sufficient, we must use lawful means to obtain a good End; all the World knows that there are Diforders in the State, they are greater than Men imagine : But prudence will not admit that Mr. le Prince should apply Remedies worse than the Disease. The well meaning Towns of the Kingdom are so afraid of a Civil War, that they will never Doclare for Mr. le Prince. He bas a mind to Correct some Abuses, which 'tis for the Interest of the Towns to fuffer; those which tell bim that the Reference will Rife, don't know us, er at least they have a mind so impose upon bis Highness. They offer him People, which are not at their disposal, 'Tis true, we Complain of some Grievances, but we will remain peaceable as long as the Edicts are obferoed. The Allies of the Crown will not approve of this Enterprise of Mr. le Prince. France is the only Counterpoise which can oppose the greatness of the Spanish Monarchy. If a Civil War should arise in the Kingdom, who can resist the ambitious Designs of the House of Austria.

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The Agent of the Prince de Conde had better encouragement at St. Fean d'Angell, than at Saumur. He invited the Duke of

The Duke of Rohan sten to the the prince of Conde. Memoires du Duc de Rohan. Vie de Mr. du Pleffis. Liv. III. 1614.

Roban to take Arms, in Favour of his Highness, promising that his Highness feemes to li- would not come to an Agreement with the Court, without his Confent. The proposals of Duke did not feem very backward to join the Party : But the diffruit, which he had of the Mareschal de Bovillon, whose artifices and ill-will to him, he was aware of, made him more referved. fore he would Engage himself, he sent one of his Confidents to the Prince, to discover the real Designs of his Highnes, and the discontented Lords. When de Plessis Mornai understood that the Duke of Roban was inclined to join with the Prince; Mr. de Rohan said he, does not think to appeale the Troubles by Interesting bimself. The Queen will be more inclined to Satisfie the Prince, and the Mareschal de Bovillon, jealous of Mr. de Roban, will take care to conclude a Peace as foon as poffible. No body could have better foretold what would come to pass. The Envoy of the Duke was kindly received by the Prince; the Party gave out, that Roban offered a Thousand Horse, and Eight thousand Foot. The Treaty with the Court, that was already far advanced, was immediately concluded, and the Prince obtained that, which otherwise would never have been granted. As for the

the Mareschal de Lesdiquieres he only exhorted Conde to the Peace, and offer'd 1614. him his good Offices for that purpole. (

Caja Duke of Vendome, that was fei- Hist. du z'd at the Louvre, and kept Priloner in his Connerable Chamber, made his etcare, Eight days guieres. after, he took the Road to Bretagne, but Liv. VIII. when he came to Ancenis, he found that Chap. 6. the Regent had given such good Orders of the D. of on that Side, that the Duke de Montbason, de Vendowho was fent to Command in his Place, me, he reand the Comte de Vertus in Conjunction Bretagne. with the Parliament de Rennes, took care to have the Gates of the best Cities in the Province, thut against him. Nevertheless Condi Duc de Rets joined Vendome, they gathered together fome Troops, and fet about Fortifying Blavet, of which they had made themselves Masters, as also of fome other Places of the Dutchy of Ponthievre, which belonged to the House of Mercaur, whose Heiress Cafar had married. He writ to the King to Complain of the unjust Treatment that he found. Instead of Answering this Duke, who was never feared nor valued, they fent Orders to the Comte the Vertus and to the Parliament of Britagne, to hinder him from Levying or Affembling any Troops, not excepting his Company of Guards, unless he shewed express Orders from her Majesty. Cefar wrote a Second Letter to the King, he Complains there of the Affront which was offerd him, in degrading

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oding him from his Government, and instifies himself as well as he can with refpect to the Fortifications of Blavet. The Court as little regarded this Letter as the First. Being more concerned about her Negociations in Champagne, the Regent flighted the Duke of Vendome, and Concluded a Treaty with the Prince of Conde.

The death of ble de Mont morenci.

Henry Duc de Montmorenci, Pair and the Conneta- Connetable of France, died in his Government of Languedoc during these Troubles. The late King had invested him with the First military Dignity, which had not been filled fince the death of Anne de Montmorenci his Father. Hiftory gives us no great Character of this Connetable, he was a Man of moderate Merits. The judicious President de Thou. is far from giving us so fine a Description of him as of his Eldeft Brother, the Mareschal de Montmorenei. Herry his Son had married fome time ago Daughter of the Duke de Bracciano, of the Family of the Urfins in Italy. He left Three Daughters, Two by a First Wife, one of which married the Duke de Ventadour, and the other, the Comte d'Auvergne, afterwards Duke d'Angouleme. The Third, by his Second Wife, was married to the Prince of Conde.

Whilest the Duke de Ventadour, the Prefident of Thou, and Fearmin Boiffise and Bullion Counsellers of State, were in a

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Conference at Soiffons, for Mary de Medicis with the Prince de Conde, and the Lords of his Party, the Marquis de Cauvres, Ambassador Extraordinary from France, in Italy, was there finishing his Negociation concerning the Affair of Mantus. The D. of The Duke of Savey, who was not Igno- Savoy a. rant that this New Minister of France voids meetwas to join with the Ambaffador who was ing the Marfent from Spain, at the same time to Couvres press his Highness to Diferm, and to the Fr. Am-Conclude the marriage of his Danghter, basader in the Widow of Duke Francis of Maneua, Memoires de with the Cardinal Ferdinand de Gonzagua, lo Regence his Brother and Successor; Charles Ema- de Marie de nuel I fay, went out of Turin, as soon as Medicis. he heard of the Arrival of Couvres, un recondite. der a pretence of going to fettle fome Tom. III. Disorders which had happen'd in his P. 109, 191, County of Nine in Provence.

He could not digest the loftiness of the Court of Spain towards him. Two of his Sons were Hoftages as it were. Victor Amadem. Prince of Piedment, the Eldeft, which his Father had fent into Spain very imprudently, upon the occasion of his Quarrel with the House of Mantua, and Philibers, whom the Saaniards had the precaution to hold in Cuftody, ever fince Charles Emanuel had fent him, to make Satisfaction to his Cathotick Majesty, as we faid before. Indeed they had given Prince Philibers the Command of the Spanish Gallies, but this Im-

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portant Charge, was properly speaking. but an Honourable prison. The Guards and Officers, which were about his Perfon, had an Eye upon all his Steps and Actions. Altho Two Hoftages fo Dear to their Father, might have Secured the King of Spain, that Charles Emanuel had no ill Delign upon the Country of Miles. yet his Majesty Ordered him to Difarm presently, and Acting upon this occasion in Concert with the Regent of France, his Orders were the more positive and preffing.

The Jealouse of the Princes of Italy, by Correspondence betrocen the on to the Affairs of Italy.

The Republick of Venice and the Secular Princes of Italy, faw with excreme Concern that the Alliance made between reason of the the Two Crowns, by the Treaty of the Double Marriage, tended only to Enflave Italy, and that they must be contented two Crowns, for the future, with whatfoever Spain with relati- should resolve upon, in Conjunction with the Regent of France, who willingly facrificed the Interest and Anthority of her Son, to a prejudice which the had taken up, that the fureft way to be anfolute in France, was to hold a good Corne spondence with the Court of Madrid. The Cardinal Duke of Maneua, whom the Two Crowns pretended to Protect, Complained that the Carholick King endeavoured to marry him to a Woman he did not care for, and to take away the young Princels his Neice from him. Charles Emanuel made a greater noise becanfe

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cause they would have the absolute disposal of his Daughter, and compell him to
lie at the Discretion of the Spaniards,
when he was Disarmed. What now?
said he to the Ministers of the Princes of
staly which were about him; Are we become the Subjects of the King of Spain?
Where we shall do the least thing that displeaseth him, must we humbly beg his Majest?'s Pardon, and undergo the penance that
be shall impose upon us? Shall we hear the Caprices and the Haughtiness of his Ministers
and Governors, who upon any pretence will
wage War against us, and we be not in a

Condition to oppose them?

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Altho feveral Princes of Italy were not forry to see the Duke of Savoy humbled, yet they murmured : Every one was afraid that upon the first occasion, the Court of Madrid would Treat them in the fame Imperious manner. The Prince of Piedmont gave his Pather notice that the Duke of Lerma, an Enemy to their Family, threatned to humble the Pride of the Duke of Saver, and to punish him for his Attempts. We must submit, said Victor Amadeus, or prepare to feel the Effeds of an angry and imperious Facourite egainst su. All these Remonstrances did not shake the Duke of Saver, being refolved to do nothing unworthy of his Quality. He protested he would rather abandon his Two Sons to the Discretion of the Spaniards, and die with his Sword

min his Hand, than be anothers Slave. 1614. And this is the reason why he left Thrin. when he underftood that the Ambaffadors of France and Spain were come to fresh with him. He would not flay to have Terms imposed upon him by these Two Ministers, who had before agreed together to make the fame Propolals. Charles Emanuel had yet forme hopes that the Face of Affairs in France, would be changed by the motions of the Prince of Conde, and that he fhould then find fome way of coming off with Henour.

The Spani-.ardsprivatly traverses the Negoci-Marquiss de Cœuvres.

In the mean time, he mok care that the Ambassadors of the Two Crowns Thould be received with all Respect. He ations of the writ very Civil and Obliging Letters to the Marquifs de Couvres, fometimes to defire him to come to Nive, fornetimes

la Regence Medicis.

Memoires de to tell him that within a few days le would return to Thein. The Franch Amde Marie de baffador caffy underhood what he meant. He informed the Court of France of all this management. They shought there

Nani Hiftoria Veneta. Lib. I.

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that it was not agreeable to the Dignley of the King to let the Duke of Savin any longer play upon an Ambuffider Extraordinary, which this Majefty had fent to him. Canves was Ordered to so to Mantua, and to take Milan he his way, that he might there take fome Meafures with the Ministers of the King of Spain. The Warquifs d'Impofd, received the Amballation with a great deal of Civiling. And

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And they took care to give him the Pleafures and Diversions of the Carnaval. But when they began to speak about the Affair of Manena, the Spanish Ministers who could not bear that the Court of France should have any hand in this Accommodation, told the Marquiss de Courwes, that that Affair would benceforward be negociated at Medrid, whither the Cardinal Duke had fent one of his Prin-

cipal Ministers.

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The French Ambassador then understood that the Jealousie of the Spaniards would underhand give him a great deal of Trouble. He fet out for Mantus. The Governor of Milan dispatcht immediately a Franciscan Friar, with Orders to Treat privately with the Cardinal Duke, to hinder him from accepting with the Mediation of France, and to give him hopes of better Terms, by the fingle Mediation of the Catholick King. who was provok'd by the delays and refiftance of Charles Emanuel. The Prince de Castiglione, the Emperor's Commissioner in Italy, went himself to Montus. He lay Incogniso in one of the Duke's Houses, near the City, This Journey was undertaken by Agreement with the Marquis Inojosa, who defign'd to Corroborate, by fending the Prince de Caftiglione all that the Franciscan should say. or at least to interpose the Name and Authority of the Emperor, as a new Ob-Ag 2 **Atacle**

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A stacle to the Interposition of France, in the Affair of Mantua, Castiglione reprefented to the Cardinal Duke, that the Dispute between him and the Duke of Savey, being about a Feif of the Empire. his Imperial Majesty took it ill that their dispute was referr'd to the Arbitretion of another Power.

The Cardinal Duke of Mantua acceptsthe Conditions proposed by the Marquis

In spight of all these Intreagues of the Spaniards, the Cardinal Ferdinand took the Advice of the Republick of Venice, to accept the Terms proposed by France, and to Consent to what was Demanded de Cœuvres of them, provided he should have the liberty of keeping the Princel's Mary at Mantua, Ferdinand made some Objections against the Amnesty which they defir'd of him, in favour of those of Morferrat, who had declar'd for the Duke of Swoon: But he consented at last. The Marquis de Cauvres having therefore obtained the Consent of the Cardinal Duke to marry the Dutchess Margarita, the Widow of his Brother France, to choose before the Confummation of the marriage, Arbiters to Examine the pretentions of the Duke of Saver to Monferrat, to Pardon all those Rebels which Charles Emanuel protected; laftly, to require no Reparation for the War, which had been made against him. Ferdinand disparch'd a Courier in o France, to give the Queen Regent notice of what had been done. He desir'd her to perswade the Catholick King

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King to approve of this Agreement. The Court of Madrid did not feem to 1614. wait till it was folicited. Affecting to be as it were the fole Agent on this occafion, and to give Laws to the Two Parties, the Catholick King fent Express Orders that he should come to an Agreement upon these Terms. The Republick of Venice thought that this Expedient would avert this War, with which Italy was threatned, if the Quarrel was not quickly ended, and the Cardinal Duke by this Submiffion, would gain the Fayour of the Two Crowns, in case the Duke of Savoy refus'd to accept the Terms which they jointly proposed.

The Marquis de Cauvres went to Ve The D. of nice to divert him felf, expecting Or- Savoy preders to return to France. Mary de Medi-tends to concu fent them to him. She was well plea- Sem likewift led to have made a certain shew of her Authority in Italy, at a time when the Spaniards spoke so big there. Cauvres was Commanded to return by Turin, and there to Treat with the Duke of Savoy, to persuade him to accept of the Terms which the Cardinal Duke of Manma had agreed to. The Court of France was not much concern'd that Charles Emanuel should so soon come to an Accommodation with Ferdinand. Being persuaded that the Spaniards would sufficiently mortifie him, they were heartily glad that this bold and turbulent Man

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had:

The History of Book A.

526 had his hands fo full in Italy, that he could not Succour the Prince of Conde. The Marquise d' Urfe was lately come to Turin, to Treat with the Duke of Sa-Siri Memoi- ver, in the Name of the Malecontents of

re recondite France. Cauvres received a To. III. p. Careties at the Court of Charles Emanuel, 222. 223. They there feem'd well dispos'd to the Accommodation: But under a pretence that the Spaniards had ill Deligns against him, the Duke of Savor Levied New Troops, and ftrengthened himself more

than ever.

New Troops levied at Turin.

Nani Hifteria Veneta. Lib. I.

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The account which the Prince of Piedmont upon his return from Madrid, gave of the Coldness and Haughtiness with which he was Received there, and of the aversion which the Duke of Lermis had for the House of Saver, made Charles Emanuel almost mad. Not content to make continual Invectives against the Attempts of the King of Spain, upon the Liberty of the Princes of Italy, he endeavoured to put himself in a Condition to Refift any that should Attack him. Hereupon he Negociates with Maurice, Prince of Orange. John Comte de Naffaw comes into his Service, Invited by a great Pension. He raises new Regiments of Swiffes, and offers Commissions to feveral French Officers; in fhort, he intrigues with all Nations that were Enemies to, or jealous of the Monarchy of Spain. What an unhappy thing is it for poor

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poor Subjects to be at the Direction of a Restless, Ambitious and Revengeful Prince. They are ruin'd to day for the carrying on a chimerical Delign; to morrow, to fatisfie the defires of an unreafonable Ambition; or else for the revenging of an injury which a Wife and Judicious Prince, would out of Prudence overlook. But fuch was the Fate of Piedmont and Savoy as long as Charles Emanuel

The Marquis de Cauvres was inform- The Negocithe Marquils ae Cauvres was inform ation of the the Prince of Conde and the Regent were radour and

upon the point of Agreement. This after Com News unravelled the Defigns of the Duke missioners of the Duke the K. with of Savoy: He flatterr'd himfelf, should have time to make good his pre-Conde and should have time to make good in pite those of his tensions to Monferrat, in spight of the Party. King of Spain, whilft his Catholick Majesty should be busied in Supporting the Authority of Mary de Medica, fhaken by a Civil War, rais'd by the Prince of Conde in France. The Treaty which the Memoires de Regent was about to Conclude at St. Ma- la Regence neboud in Champagne, with the Malecon- de Marie de tents, was not fo Binding, but that the Medicis. Prince de Conde held still a great Corre Mercure spondence with Savoy, and there was Francois. ftill great Confusions in France. These Confiderations gave Charles Emanuel some hopes of being in a Condition to make the Governor of Milan know, that his Catholick Majesty was not powerful e-

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nough to be absolute Master of all the Affairs in Italy. Before we relate this new Quarrel which the Duke of Savey had with the Marquis of Inojosa, or rather with the Court of Madrid; it is necessary to look back on the Course of the Affairs in France, and to give an account of the Negociation of the Duke of Ventadour and the other Commissioners of the King of France, with the Prince of Conde and the Lords of his Party, at the Conference of Soiffons. The latter came thither, attended by Six or Seven hundred Horse, and Four thousand Foot. The Duke de Mayenne, Governor of the Isle of France, had put a strong Garrison into Soiffons, for the Security of the Prince and the Lords that came with him.

The 14th, April. they affembled in the Caftle of Soillons. After the Prince of Conde and the Malecontented Lords, had protested that they had no other Defign, but to Serve his Majesty, and to fecure the Peace of France, they defired Three things of the Regent; that the States of the Kingdom should be Conven'd as foon as possible, that the double Marriage with Spain should be Superseded, and that both Sides should lay down their Arms. Hitherto things went very fmoothly, they pretended to defign nothing but the publick Good. But they referv'd a Power to Treat, not only concerning

cerning the Liberty and Security of the Affembly of the States of the Kingdom, 1614 but also concerning the particular Interests of each of the Lords. The Convocation of the States were graffted, without any difficulty. The Regent had offered, that in her Answer to the Prince de Conde's Manifesto. There was a dispute about the Second Article. They demanded a Suspention of the double Marriage, till the End of the Assembly of the States. The Commissioners of the Court had only Orders to grant it tillthe Majority of the King. And to fave the Authority of the Regent in an Affair which she had Negociated, and folemnly Concluded with Spain, the Court would not allow that this Article should be inserted in the publick Treaty. They offered a particular Letter of the Regent to the Prince, in which her Majefty would engage her felf to defer the double Marriage, till the Majority of the King. The thing was accepted of, with this modification. There was only a formality wanting. The day appointed for the opening of the Affembly of the States, falling out before the Majority, the double Marriage could not be Celebrated before the end thereof.

The proposals which the Prince de de Conde Conde and the Lotds of his Party made retires from with Relation to their particular Interests, goes into raised great disputes in the Council of Cham.

Mary pagne.

Mary de Medicis, under a pretence of providing for their own Security. The Prince and the other Malecontents, demanded, that they would put some important Place into their Hands, and grant them several things for their own conveni-

Memoirs de ence. 'T was necessary to fend Couriers to Court, and to receive Instructions con-Baffompierre. cerning these Affairs. Thus the King's Mercure Army gained time to reinforce it felf Francois. confiderably. Galati brought Six thou-1614.

La Regence Medicis.

fand Swiffes, which he had Commission Memoires de to Levy. Baffompierre, their New Collonel General went to receive them at de Marie de Troies in Champagne; from thence he Conducted them to Vitri, where Praflain was gathering together the King's Army. These motions made the Prince de Conde Jealous, who immediately left Soiffons. He had written to the Queen before, to shank her for the Three Articles which the had confented too, and to Advertise her Majesty, that the Duke de Maierne and the Mareschal de Bovillon remained at Soissons, with full power to Treat of shole other Conditions which his Highness and the Lords of the Party had demanded. Conde had a mind to feize Viri with his little Army, which he led towards Sedan: But the Kings Troops prevented him. He made amends for this, by affifting the Duke of Nevers to make himfelf Mafter of Sr. Menehoud.

When

When the particular Demands of the Prince and the Malecontented Lords were 1614 proposed in the Queen's Council, their Opinions were divided. The Dukes de Guije, d'Epernon, de Bettegarde, the Car-The Regents dinal de Foieufe and Villeroi Secretary of Council di-State, cried out upon them, as unwor the demands thy Conditions, which the Queen could which the P. not grant with Honour, and withour of Conde parting with too much of her Authority contents Guise and Epernon, faid boldly, that if make with the Regent granted Places of Security to relation to their Enemies, they likewife would de-their partimand the same, and that they would look rests. for Assistance out of the Kingdom. This Siri Meme, was plainly to threaten, that they would recordise. join themselves with the Crown of Spain. Tom. UL. This appeared fo much the more a con- P. 238,239, triv'd Defign, because the Ministers of &c. Philip declard, that the King their Mafter would not fend the Infanta, his-Daughter into France, as long as the Enemies of the House of Austria were there the Strongest. Mary de Medicis began to be shaken by their Reasons, who were of Opinion that the should suppress the Prince of Conde by Force. The Parliaments, the greater part of the military. Officers, in a word almost the whole Kingdom were at her Majesties disposal. The Hugonots did not Rife, only the Duke of Roban was perhaps tempted to join with the Prince of Conde : But Roban did not eare to embark himfelf, without having A a 6

having a prospect what was like to be the Succeis. However, 'twas easie to flop him, by giving some Satisfaction to the Reformed Churches, concerning the Edicts of Pacification, and above all, in not accepting the affiftance which the King of Spain offer'd, and of which the Regent had no need: Her Majesty did not want Money, she had a good Army, Cende and the Lords of his Party, lying in the extreame parts of the Kingdom, without hope of Foreign Succour, were not furnished with any necessaries to maintain a War.

The Intrigue of diffusaie the Regent from de Conde.

Siri Memo. recondite. Tom. III. P. 241.

Mary de Medicis would have followed the Marschal this Advice, the most advantageous to de Ancre to her Reputation and her Authority, if the Mareschal & Ancre and the Chancellor going tolWar de Silleri had not diffnaded her. Not with the P. content to alledge their Reasons in the Council, that it was the best way to grant the Prince of Conde and those of his Party, almost all their Presentions, they, Intrigued in the Parlement, they excited the People of Para earnestly to demand the conclusion of the Peace. gage likewise the Deputies General of the reformed Churches to fay, That if the Regent gave the Command of the Army to the avowed Enemies of their Religion, they should think they had very good reason to take care of their own prefervation, by uniting with the Prince of Conde. The Mareschal de Lesdiguieres

repre-

Book V. LEWIS XIII.

represented that the War would be lookt of upon as a revival of the Ancient Quarrels between the Guises and the Bourbons. In this diversity of Opinions, the Queen thought, that to save her self from the Reproaches which might be hereaster thrown upon her, twas necessary to assemble an extraordinary Council, and to Summon thither the Presidents of the Parliament and the chief Magistrates of Paris. All these Gentlemen of the Robe, being preposses'd by the Chancellor, fa-

voured a Peace. The Cardinal de Joieuse seeing that their Advice would not carry it, went out of the Alfembly. Guile, Epernon, Villeroy, and some others who had spoke. for the War, were afraid to oppose the Torrent, therefore they approv'd the continuation of the Treaty begun at Soif-Sons. Viguier was dispatch'd by the Regent. to the Prince of Conde, who was retired to St. Meneboud. This new Agent had. Orders to persuade his Highness to agree that the Duke de Maienne and the Mareichal de Bavillon should conclude the Treaty with the King's Commissioners, who remained at Soiffons, notwithstanding the Retreat of the Prince with some. other Lords. Conde having answerd by Viguier that things would sooner come to an Issue, if the Duke de Ventadour and his Collegues would advance as far as Rhetel to Treat with himself; her Majesty,

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fent.

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fent an express Commission to her Deputies to make an end of the Negociation. The Regent sent likewise a particular Letter to the Prince. She there promis'd a Suspension of the double Marriage, till the Majority of the King her Son.

The reasons of the Pope's Nuncia a-Solution taken to make a Peace of Conde.

The Pope's Nuncio was troubled at the Resolutions which Mary de Medicis bout the re- had taken to come to an agreement with the Prince of Conde, upon Terms fo difadvantageous to her Royal Authority, with the P. he was afraid that this Treaty would make the First Prince of the Blood too powerful, and put him into a capacity of pufiing his attempts much farther. Conde. faid this Minister of the Pope, bath a defign to break the double Marriage. How must be Effect it? 'Tis necessary then that be Support the Hugonot Party, that be favour the continual Usurpations of the Parliaments upon the Jurisdiction of the Church. that he make Creatures in the Sorbonne, by fomenting the Richerifte Party, who endeavour to Ruine the Authority of the Holy See. in France, and if the Pope hath not Power to diftense with Canons as he thinks fit, how can the Divorce of the late King from Marguerite his first Wife stand good? This Prince of Conde hath but one Step more to make, to Ascend the Throne. The Italian Politicians, oftentimes carry their Reafonings beyond all Bounds. The Author which relates these Speculations of the

Siri Memo. recondite. Tom. III. p. 241.

Nuncio

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Nuncio adds, that the fear of this Minifter would have been very well ground- 1614. ed in any other Country besides France. The Genius of the Nation is fo changeable, they take different measures every The examiday, fo contrary one to the other, that nation of a one can moke no certain Conjectures a-fection of a bout the feveral Commotions there. The Venetian Reflection is not amis, and indeed we must Author, concerning the agree with him : But this Author should Treaty with have added, that Conde was a Man of fothe Prince of faint a Temper, so little capable of any Conde. Resolution, that he would never have done the Regent much mischief, thô she had granted him Conditions yet more

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advantageous.

A Noble Venetian speaking of the same
Affair in the History of his own Republick, says that France did Recompense Nani History
those Astions, which elsewhere they Punish Lib. I.
by the hands of the Hangman. I approve 1614.
no more than he, that which hath often

no more than he, that which hath often happenned in France, in these Leagues which the Princes and great Lords have often made under the Honourable pretence of the publick good, they more design'd their own Interest than those of the People. But why does this Senator assume for boldly, that the Prince of Conde and the Lords of his Party ought to have their heads cut off for this Enterprize? This is done in other Places. I grant it in those Countrys where the Government is Tyrannical. One would be sur-

prized

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prized to hear a Republican speak at this 1613. rate, if we did not know that the Go vernment of Venice is rather an absolute Domination of a small number of Noble men, than a free Administration of publick Affairs, by a well-compos'd Senan This Decemvirate which is always standing, is as good an Invention to maintain Tyranny as ever was. It keeps both the People and Nobility equally in awe. They study and pursue the Maxims of Matchiavel in Venice, as much as in any part of Italy. The undertaking of the Prince of Conde was neither Honest nor Prudent enough: But in what was it fo Criminal ?

This Man must be well seasoned in the Tyrannical principles of his Matchiavel, to maintain that a first Prince of the Blood, and the Lords of the first Rank in a Kingdom, who Demand the Re-establishment of good Laws, the general Assembly of the States of the Kingdom, the Suspension of a marriage concluded during the Minority of the King, against the true Interest of his Crown; to main tain. I fay, that these who only make use of that Priviledge which their Birth and Dignity gives them, and which defire some Security for their Persons, against a Regent and suspected Ministers, deferve to die upon a Scaffold. The Prince of Conde is not to be blamed for Combining with some other Lords, to Demand.

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Demand those things of which he speaks ~ in his Manifesto: But he did not take 1614. the Right way to do any good. His Defigns did not appear Sincere, nor Difinterested. The Parlement and the Magiftrates of Park were very Wife in adviling a Peace. A Civil War might have been fatal to France; and in making a Peace, they were fure of a speedy Convention of the States. The well-meaning Men would have endeavoured at a Reformation of the Government, if they had been better Seconded, and the Prince of Conde had had more Wildom and Sincerity.

He concluded at last his Treaty with A Treaty the Regent at St. Meneboud, in Champag-concluded at ne, the 15th of May. The Duke de Ven- St. Menetadour and his Colleagues were there. I tween the will not recite all the Articles. The Regent and Caftle of Amboise was to be put into the Prince of Prince's hands, until the meeting of the States. The Duke de Nevers had St. Me Mercure nebeud, fay some Authors, thô it is not Prancoise. mentioned in the Treaty. Thele gave Memaires de him besides a Sum of Money to satisfie Duc de Rohim for pulling down his House, to make han & de way for the Fortifications of Mezieres, la Regence which were part of them to be demolifi- Medicis. Blavet and the other Places that were Fortified a little before in Bretagne by the Duke de Vendome being Dismantled. He was reftored to his Government and all his Places. This was all that was agreed upon for Vendom. He

1614.

highly complained that the Prince o Conde had abandoned him in this Negociation. As for the Mareschal de Bouillon, it was easie to satisfie him. Money which the Regent Ordered to be paid him, was thought by him a fuffcient Recompence. See, said the Duke of Roban, who had more Integrity in him than all the rest that made such a noise. fee, faith he, how Mens private Interest make them forget the publick welfare of the Kingdom. The Prince de Conde, the Dukes de Nevers, de Longueville, de Maienne; and the Mareschal de Bovillon, who figned the Treaty, very readily performed their Conditions. Mary de Medicie was not less punctual of her Side.

The Dukes de Longueville and de Maien ne were the first that return'd to Court Conde retired to his House of Vallen where Descures Governor of Amboife, went to refign that Place into his hands. His Highnels came sometime after to pay his Devoirs to their Majefties. That Reftless Temper that was Natural to him, would not fuffer him to flay long at Court. Being vext that his late Defign had lessened the Respect due to his high Quality, instead of increasing it, as he had flattered himself it would. Prince was again tempted to new Troubles before the meeting of the States: But having taken no better Meafures than he did before, he was forced

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539 to let the Regent alone, who was endeavouring to reduce the Duke de Vendom, who refused to agree to the Treaty of St. Meneboud.

It is a great while fince we have had The Decree occasion to speak of the Jesuits. But we lement of shall now fee them appear again upon the Paris a-Stage upon the account of a Book pub- gainst a lifted by Suarez, a famous Divine of Book of Suathat Society in Spain. The Book is In- fuit. tituled, The Defence of the Catholick and Mercure Apostolick Faith against the Errors of the Francoise. English Hereticks. There are always a certain fort of Men at Paris, who parrowly observe all the Actions of these Good Fathers, and will not forgive them if they do amis. This new Book of Suarez being come to France, Abstracts of it were presently made, and brought to the King's Officers in the Parliament of Paris. The Sollicitor General look'd upon it as a Book fo dangerous, that he thought it his Duty to defire the Condemnation of it. The Parliament met upon the 26th of June, and Condemn'd the Book to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman, as containing Seditious Principles, tending to the Subversion of Kingdoms, and to perswade the Subjects of Kings and Princes to attempt their Sacred They ordered besides, That certain former Decrees of the Faculty of Paris, which condemn'd the Doctrine of Suarez, should be Read every year on the

of the Par.

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the 4th day of June, not only in th 1614. Schools of Syrbonne, but also in those in the Colledge of Clermont, and of the Mendicant Friers.

> The greatest mortification to the Society was this, that the Parlement Decreed that the Fathers Armand, the Rector of the Society, Cotton the late King's Confessor, Fronton le Duc and Sir mond, two Persons very famous for their Learning, should appear the next day before the Parlement. When they came thither, the first President told them in the Name of the Court, that the Book of Suarez their Brother Jesuit, was contrary to a Declaration they had made, and to a Decree of their General in the Year 1610. They commanded them afterward to write to Rome, for a Revival and Publication of that Decree, and to get from thence an Order in Six Months to prevent the Members of that Society from writing any more in their Books, such damnable and pernicious De Brine, and to Command them to Preach to the People Doctrines contrary to those of Suarez, or else the Parlement would proceed against fuch Offenders, as Guilty of High Treason, and disturbers of the publick Peace. The Court of France forefaw very

> well that the Proceedings of the Parle-

ment of Paris against the Book of Suarez,

would make a great noise at Rome; for

indeed the Book was writ by Order

Paul V.complains of the proceedings of the par-Tement a. gainst Suarez bis Book.

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of the Pope: But the Regent, to whom the Parlement had been very Serviceable in the Affair of the Prince of Conde, would not oppose their Zeal, which they expressed against these pernicions Opini- Siri Memo. ons. Her Majesty had more need than recondite. ever, to keep fair with the Parlement, p. 256, 257. by reason of the approaching Assembly & 270. of the States. As foon as Paul V. had notice of the Decree of the Parlement. against Suarez his Book, he sent the Bithop of Foligni to the Marquis of Trenel,

who succeeded Breves in his Embassy at

Rome. This Prelate had Orders to com-

plain in the Name of the Pope, of the proceedings of the Magistrates of Paris,

by which they Encroached on the Rights

of the Holy See. His Holiness, said he

to the Ambassadour, is the more surprized, because be expected nothing less than a grate-

ful acknowledgement of bis kindness to the

Queen of France. Her Majefty cannot be Ignorant of that Affection that he has always

shewed to ber, and the King ber Son. All the World is witness of that Zeah, which

bu Holiness bas discovered for the prosperity of France. Tis not long fince be offered bis

good Offices to the Queen, to appeale the Troubles of the Kingdom. And they are no Joner ended, but the Parlement of Paris makes a Decree injurious to the Holy See. If Suarezs Book contains any Positions contrary to the Sovereignty of the most Christian

King, ber Majefly might bave complained 20

to the Pope. He would have censur'd the Doctrine of the Author, and punished him feverely; be would have made him laft our what was of ill tendency in the Book. Since the death of Henry IV. many French Ar thors have published several satyrical Libels against the Holy See, and the Person of the Pope. They have endeavoured to Ruine bis Authority at that time, when he employed it for the Interest of the King, and for the Properity of France. The Bishop of For ligns charged the Ambassador to inform the Regent, that the Pope complained of the violent Proceedings of the Parlement and to defire her Majesty to get the De cree revok'd.

The Difcour fe be. tween the Pope and the dor about the Parlements Decree.

The Marquis de Trenel having an Ardience of the Pope, sometime after he represented to his Holiness, how impor-F. Ambassa-fible it was to obtain what be defired of the Queen, who in the present juncture of Affairs, could not fall out with the Parlement of Paris. Her Majesty, faid the Ambassador to the Pope, will always retain a remembrance of shofe kindnesses which you have done ber, but the will be concerned, to understand that your Holines gives pretection to a Book, the Author of which is fo far from incouraging Subjects m Obey their Sovereigns, as be wobliged by bis Profession to do, abat be laies down Maxims to ftir them up to Rebellien, and make an attempt on the Lives of abeir Princes. France fiell bemails the Bloody death of Her

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ry IV. Her Parlements will never fail to opole those Authors, whose pernicious Doctrine 1614. Struck the Knife in the Breast of fo good a King. The Magistrates will never cease so employ their utmost Care for the prefervation of the Person of bis San, without being defellive in that Respect that they owe to your Holiness, and the Apostolick See. Accordively the Parlement of Paris bath taken all possible Care, that their Decree might not violate the Lamful Authority of the Succesfors of St. Peter. These Remonstrances did not at all affect a proud and angry Pope. If the King of France, replied he, will not revoke the Decree of Parlement as to shofe Points which concern the Rights of the Holy See, I will follow the light and dictates of my Conscience. You must not imagine that she fear of a Rupture, will be my restraint upon me in this matter. In cale Her Majefty refuses to give me the fatisfaction shat I define, I'le endeavour to do my felf justice, and follow the examples of my Prodecessors. Must I maintain a Nuncio at Paris, to be there the Spectator of the outrages shat are done me, and the Indignity with which they there or ample under their Feet the Authority of the Holy See? Isit fo band a matter to ftop the proceedings of the Paylement? I know the Chanceller well enough: Massims of Polinicks are more pleafing to him, than trushs of Religion.

The Ambaffador was not at all dif-

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upon the reasons which the Parlemen had to Condemn Suarez his Book : I ben beard fay, added he like a Gentleman that Divinity is a holy Science. It is there fore inconfissent with an Opinion which & lows the murder of Kings. The Parlemen is indifpensably obliged to take care of the preservation of good Divinity in the Kim dom, of the Authority and Person of the King. They have a Book brought before them which maintains that in some case a particular Person may attempt with a fall Conscience, the Life of his Prince. Ca any one defire that the Magistrate should Silent, when Two Kings have been successive murdered by Fanaticks, who have imbile this damnable Divinity. Paul replied the the matter in dispute was not about the killing of declared Tyrants. I have for bid my felf, faid he, the teaching fuch De Strines, and I do not know but that I be complied too much in that matter. Me approved Authors in the Church are of the Opinion. But I complain of the Conden nation of certain passages, recited in I Decree, which speak only of the Prerogation of the Holy See. And what were thele They were those, where Suarez affirms that the Pope may depose Princes, who they become Tyrants. That which Paul V acknowledges, deserves to be remark He pretends to be very favourable a Kings, in forbidding any to teach that i was lawful to kill them with a fale Con frience

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ficience in any Case what ever. But with a moderation altogether worthy of the Successor of St. Peter, he reserves to himself the Right of Deposing them, when ever he should judge that their Government is degenerated into Tyranny. Trenel replied very aptly, that Princes were not so much obliged to him, and that it was his Holines's own Interest, that such a Doctrine should be banished all Christian Communions. For, says he, The Protestants hold that the Popes are Herreicks, Tyrants, and Antichrist, and if the Opinion which allows the attempting the Lives of Tyrants, be once Established among Christians, It is not impossible, but a Fanatick Hugonot may take a fancy to do a brave Astion, and hill the Pope.

Paul V. was enraged instead of being pacified. He said again with a threating and angry Air, that nothing should hinder him from defending the Rights of the Holy See, if the King would not revoke the Decree of Parlement. I wish our Holiness, replied the Ambassador in a submissive manner, would bave the good-west to offer some Expedient, that you would mite to your Nuntie, and would send Orders to the Cardinals which are in France, to would with bim about some means of acfcience in any Cafe what ever. But with a moderation altogether worthy of the Successor of St. Peter, he referves to himself the Right of Deposing them,

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onfult with birn about fome means of acommodation; The Queen will agree to any bing that she can do with Honour. As for Revoking of the Decree, it is not a thing ossible to be done at present. Trenel's de-

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fign was only to hold him in play, that 1614. So the hot and haughty Old Gentleman might have time to grow cool, and reflect upon the Confequences of his Threatnings. After some farther discourse, he took a resolution to write to the Nuncia and to fend to the Cardinals de Jeieufe, du Perron, and de la Rechefoutante, to enjoin them to confer with the Nuncin about the Satisfaction which his Holines should Demand, in the present posture of affairs in France. In reciting thefe particulars Two things feem equally Surprising to me: The arrogance of the presended Vicar of Jefus Christ, who will not endure that Crowned Head should make wie of their Authority to fupport their Sovereign and Independent Power, or to preserve their Lives from Affains. They must bumbly define of she Pope the Condemnation of a Jeini. who allows attempts upon their Lives: They must be content with his publishing throughout their Dominions, that the Pope hath a Baghe to examine their Condoct, and so Depose whem, when he thinks they Tycanoically abuse their Power. The other thing which does not tels amaze me, is the mean and low-fair rited Superstision of the Princes of the popifr Communion: What good Reafer alid he altedge, to oblige them blindly to fubmit to the arrogance and pride of the Billiop of Rome, which geofaly abules a Religion

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Religion, the principles of which, reduce him to the simple Quality of a preacher 1614. of the Gospel, and an Overseer of a

particular Church.

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The Regent of France and her Mini- The Methods fters, were pleased with the Marquis of used by the Trenel, for having engaged the Pope to to content take the way of Negociation, for his the Pope. obtaining Satisfaction, concerning the Decree of the Parlement, of which he to bitterly complain'd. 'Twas not that Siri Memo. the Court of France were afraid of the Tom. III. Menaces of the good Man. His Quarrel p. 269, 270. with the Republick of Venice, had raught &c. the World, that though his anger might make him take a violent Resolution, yet be foon repented of it, and became more mild when when he was fteadily Oppokd. No one could imagine that a Man of his Age and Experience, would have ever been so Imprudent as to break with France. This Step would have done the Pope and the Roman Religion more mifchief than it would those whom he threatned with his Thunders and Anathemas. This would have been matter of Triumph to the Protestants. They would have certainly have yet more infulted over the arrogance of Paul V. on whom they had already bestowed many harp and ingenious Raileries. He would thus have expos'd himself to the Indignation of all Wife and Judicious Catholicks, who would have highly blamed B b 2 him

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him for an Effort fo contrary to good Sense and the true Interests of those of their Communion. The Court of France resolved therefore not to meddle with the Decree of Parlement. They had good reason to disgrace Suarez his Book: And at this functure 'twas not convenient to put the Chief Magistrares of the Kingdom out of humour. They applied themselves only to find means to content the Pope, and to quit themselves of this When Ubaldini the Affair with Honour. Nuncio, presented the Brief which the Pope had written with his own hand, to the Queen, the answered him very handsomely: Her Majesty intimated that she should be very glad that the Nuntio should agree with the French Cardinals upon an Expedient, which might please his Holiness.

The Jefuits bestir themfelves at Rome for to have the Decree of the Parlement burnt there.

The Jesuits at Rome were more inraged against the Decree of the Pralement, than the Pope and his Ministers. If we will believe their Founder, that Society is to do every thing for the great Glory of God. But did not he secretly Inspire this Principle into his Disciples, that the Honour of their Society ought to be dearer to them than the Glory of God, and the welfare of his Church. This hath been the Temper of the Jesuits ever fince they have been taken notice of in the World. They don't care what Scandals and Pivisions they cause in the Church of Rome.

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fo that that they can preserve and increase the pretended honour of their So- 1614. ciery. This they have plainly enough discovered in the business which I am speaking of. If Paul V. had been carried away with the first motions of his Anger, he might have loft France, as Clement VII. did England. The Jesuits were not concerned to prevent the Pope from exposing himself to the same Inconvenience. They used their utmost endeavours, that the Holy Office might avenge the honour of Suarez, by Condemning the Decree of the Parlement of Paris, as Hermical, and ordering it to be burnt by the hand of the Common Hangman, in the Field of Flore. To stop this impetuous Zeal, the Marquis of Trenel was forced to admonish them, that they run the risque of being a Second time driven out of France. The Court injoined also, the chief Jesuits at Paris to write to Rome, and to declare to their inraged Brethren, that if the Pope took any violent Resolution, her Majesty would impute it to the Suggestions of that Society, and that the knew how to punish them sufficiently.

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One of the first things the young King The Decladid, who was become of Age the end ration of the of the Month September, was to give the K. in his Council upon Pope Satisfaction. His Majesty having the Decree had the Decree of Parlement read to of Parlehim in full Council, Ordered an Act to ment.

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Siri Memo. Recondite. Tom. III. P. 303.

be drawn up, in which, after having expressed his Zeal for the Honour of the Apostolick See, and the desire he had of fatisfying the Pope, Lewis XIII. declar'd that his Intention in Executing of the Decree, is not to do any prejudice to the Pope's lawful Authority, nor to the priviledges of the See, which his Predecessors had riways acknowledged. When the Declaration was read to the Nuncio Ubaldini, he thought fit to object against that part which supposed that the Temporal Power of Kings is Supreme and Independent. This was, in the Opinion of the Italian Minister, very unreasonably to reject the pretentions of the Court of Rome, who would have, that Crowned Heads should at least be fubject to the Authority of the Pope in some particular Cases; but they did not much concern themselves about the long reasonings of the Nuncio.

The Pope is not content Declaration.

Siri Memo. Recondite. Tom. III. p. 298, 299. &c.

His Mafter was no better pleas'd than he with the Declaration of the King. with the Ks. Paul V. faid plainly, that that would not remedy the Disgrace, which they had thrown upon the propositions of Suarez, with relation to the Authority which lefus Chrift had given to St. Peter and his Successors. This Author, said the Pope, like a Divine well vers'd in the Holy Scriptures, and the Ecclefiaftical Antiquity, had good reason to maintain, that I have Power to Excommunicate Heretick

Princes

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Princes, and even to Depose them when they continue obstinate in their ill Opinions, and endeavour to compel their Subjects to embrace them. If 3efus Christ had not given this Power to St. Peter and and bis Successors, they would have wanted a Power requisite for the preservation of bis Church. God forbid that I should be guilty of a base prevarication, by ceasing to defend the Right of the Chair of St. Peter, to which God bath advanced me. Thus the Popes are pleas'd to form a Plan suitable to their Ambition. according to which Jefus Christ in their Opinion ought to Govern the Church. Who told them that the Saviour of the World would not have Established a good Order in his Religion, if he had not followed the fine System they give us? Should God have called them to his Conneils ? The Ancient Popes, who Deposed neither Constantius nor Valens, nor Julian the Apostate, were then either downright Fools, or base Prevaricators. Is it credible that they did not know the Power which Jefus Christ had given them, for the welfare of his Church? And if they did know it, why did they not imploy it against those Emperors, who endeavoured to re establish Idolatry, or to force their Subjects to imbrace one of the most pernicious Herefies that ever was ?

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Upon this Ridiculous Foundation,

The K. is at length obligon of the Decree of Parlement.

Paul V. would never be fatisfied with the Declaration of the King, he always demanded with Arroguce and Threats, that the Decree should be legally Reed to sufpend voked. They were forc'd to use humble the Executi- intreaties, that the Execution of the Decree should be suspended. Poor Man de Medicis had in all her Son's confent. to give this fatisfacttion to Paul V. There was no necessity of such a base compliance with the Pope, whose Threatnings were but mere Rhodomontadoes. could he have done, if the Court had refifted him ? The general Assembly of the States were Sitting. They zealoufly demanded that the Doctrines of Swarez and fuch like, should be declared heretical and pernicious. If the fierce Borghese had thought fit to throw out his thundering Anathemas, they would have been as much despis'd in France, as they were tometime before in Venice. All the Kingdom, except a few Monks and Eccler afticks, would have oppos'd him. But it is not only now that France makes a great noise against the arrogant pretensir ons of the Pope, and at last basely comply. Lewis XIV. in the height of his Power, bath made a more shameful Submission than his Father did, when he but just entred into his Majority. He pub lished Declarations to maintain his Sove reign Power; The Archbishops spoke more

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more boldly than ever; The Ambassadors and Ministers of France insulted the 1614. Pope, even in the Vatican. To what did these appeals to a Council and the other proceedings of the Parlement, against the Court of Rome, come to? To facrifie to the Pope the honour of the Clergy, who did nothing without the

express Order of his Majesty.

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Mary de Medicis had more troublesome Divisions at affairs to fettle, than that of Rome, oc- the Court of casioned by the Condemnation of Suarez's France. Book by the Parlement of Paris. The Mareschal d'Ancre, and the Ministers of State, were always Quarrelling with one another. There had been endeavours ufed the Year before to reconcile them. The Marquis de Cœuvres did all he could to effect it. One would have thought, that the marriage between the Marquils . de Villeroi, the Secretary of State's Grandion, and Conchini's Daughter, might have produced an Agreement, which had been endeavour'd with so much Care. But whether it were, that he being advanced to one of the first Dignities of the Kingdom, imagin'd that an Alliance with Villeroi was not sufficient for him, who reacht at all; or whether Dole the. Marescal's Confident, and Villeroi's secret-Enemy, (who accused him of having, broken his word in not getting him some preferment which he had promised him) did. continually create Jealousies between-Bbs

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them; or in fine, whether there were 1614. fome other secret Caufe, which we are not acquainted with, the Mareschal d' Ancre, and Villeroy, were greater Enemies than ever. And besides, the Chancellor de Silleri and the Secretary of State, profeffed an open hatred one to another. There feem'd to be a necessity, that either the one or the other should leave the Court. Silleri had the advantage of him, because he was supported by Conchini. All these Divisions were hindrances to the Affairs of the Regent. Her Ministers and her Favourites, had each their Friends and Enemies at Court. and in the Prince of Conde's Party, which they would favour, or otherwise, according as they thought it tended most to the Establishment of their own Fortune.

The Duke of Vendome refuses to confent to the Treaty of St. Menchoud.

There was yet another thing, which was vexations to the Regent. Duke of Vendome was very unquiet in his Government of Britagne. Taking it ill, that the Prince of Conde had too much neglected him in the Treaty of St. Meneboud, he refused to fland to their A. relation greements, with to himself. But Cafar was not ftrong enough to maintain the War alone in Britagne. principal Towns and the Parlement declared for the Court. Not knowing how to render himself more formidable, and to obtain better Conditions of the Queen, he thought it his best Course to try the Duke

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Duke of Roban. La Roch-Gifart, a Gentleman of Britagne, and of the Reformed. 1614. Religion, undertook to go to St. Jean d'Angeli, and in Cafar's Name, to make the greatest promises imaginable, in fayour of the Reformed, upon Condition he would join with the Duke of Vendome. Roban answered, that he was very forry that Cefar's Interest had been no better provided for in the Treaty of St. Meneboud; but that in the present Conjuncture, the Duke of Vendome ought not to discover his concern, but that 'twas his best way to come to a speedy Agreement with the Queen. He is not in a Condition to resist, added Roban, what will be do, if the Court undertakes to reduce him by Force? Thus he will be Ruined without Remedy.

The Duke of Roban himself, had not Interest enough in the Huguenot Party to make them Rise, as the Duke of Vendome imagined. Roban had made an Essay, to call a general Convocation of those of the Religion at Tonneins in Gascogne, where they were to hold at the same time a National Synode. I can't tell whether the Duke intended to take any Resolution there in savour of the Prince of Conde, The wisdom and the discontented Lords: But du Plesse of du Plessis sin Mornai, who had no mind that the Nornai. Resormed should engage themselves in an ill contrived Civil War, prevented it. The Convocation which the Council of the Resormed of the lower Guienne

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had called at the follicitation of the Duke of Roban, was judged unlawful, and the National Synod, by the advice of the Wife and Religious du Plessis refused to have any hand in Politick affairs. The King of England always inclined to interest himself in Disputes of Divinity, and to neglect his great Duty, had writ to this Affembly upon occasion of a difference between du Moulin and Tilenus, both Professors at Sedan, concerning the Hypostatical Union. The Synod judged that 'twas the best way to let fall a Controversie between Two Divines, that disputed only for want of understanding one another. They defired du Plessis to He accepted the Comreconcile them. mission, and succeeded. Let one turn over never fo much both Ancient and Modern History, I question whether one should find his equal. Being alike versed in Learning and the Affairs of the World. he defends by Religion, he discusses the most difficult Points of Divinity, supports the Reformed Churches by his Prudence, Negociates the most troublesome Affairs, gives good Advice to Ministers of State, Princes and Kings themselves, who heard him with pleasure.

Marie de Medicis.

Sends the War as much as possible, sent into BriMarquiss de tagne the Marquiss de Cœuvres, lately arCœuvres to rived from his Embassy in Italy, to remove him to
an accommoclaim, the Duke de Vendome. Cœuvres
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would willingly have excused himself : but he was forc'd to obey. He was afraid 1614that his Enemies procur'd him this troublesome Commission, that so he might fall out with the Queen, and the Duke, Memoires de whole near Kiniman he was by the Side Medicis of the famous Gabriel d' Etrees. The Marquis at first made no Impression on him, only brought some Complaints of the Dukes de Vendome & Retz, who thought that the Treaty of St. Meneboud was injurious to him. Mary de Medicis ordered him to Return, and to tell the Duke de Vendome that her Majesty would not Demolish the new Fortifications of B'evet, provided he would let the Garrilon March out, and suffer Swiffes to be fent in their Room. Vendome, Subscrib'd Mercure this, and some other Conditions which Francois. were offered him. The King and the Queen his Mother, advanc'd towards Orleans, with a defign to pass the Loires and to go into Poitou and Bretagne. The Marquis de Couvres made a Third Journey into Britagne. He Garrisoned Blevet with the Swife: And the Duke de Vendome having laid down his Arms, was re-established in his Government by Letters Parents from her Majesty, dated at O leans the 14th July.

The Prince of Conde was come to take New Dif-Possession of his new Government of Am-contents of boile. He there observed that the Court conde. had not granted him any thing confide-

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Vie de Mr. du Plessis. Liv. III.

rable, and that he should reap no great advantage from that Place of Security, which he had Demanded with so much Earnestness. Discontent seizes him, he feeks for new Occasions for falling out. he endeavours to render himself formidable to the Regent. Accordingly be goes to find out du Plessis Mornay at Saumur, and has a meeting with the Duke of Roban, at Roche des Aubiers in Anjou. He thought if he could have at his Devotion those Two Men, who had the greatest Reputation in the Reformed Churches in France, that all the Huguenot Party would Declare for him, upon the first oportuni-The Prince affected to discover a great Confidence in du Plessis Mornai. He endeavoured to justifie his Retreat from Court, and his Enterprise against the Regent; he told him his pretended Defigns in defiring a Convocation of the States of the Kingdom; and how it was the likelieft way to promote the Reformation of Abuses; he desired du Plessu Mornai to give him his Advice freely.

This experinc'd Gentleman knew very well what Conde was able to do. He exhorted him only in general Terms, to preferve the Peace of the Kingdom, to take those measures which were most agreeable to the welfare thereof, (whose prefent Condition could not bear violent Remedies,) to manage Affairs in concert me. with the Queen, lest a misunderstand

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ing between them, should hinder that good success of the next Assembly of 1614. the States, laftly, to liften to the Advice of the most wife and understanding Perfons, with relation to the rectifying fuch Abuses, which the present posture of Affairs would admit of. When Conde law that du Plessis was not so easily to be perswaded, he pretended to take in good part the Counsels which he gave him. He defired du Plessis to prepare a Memorial of those things which were necessary to be done in the Assembly of the States. But his Highness who did not care for fuch wife Remonstrances, and so contrary to his Inclinations, went immediately to la Roche des Aubiers, where Roban and Soubize expected him.

The Prince made great Complaints of The Interthe Mareschal de Bovillon. 'Tis be, said view of the he, who hath drawn off the principal Men P. de Confrom my Party. He bath endeavoured to de Roban. make his advantage of every thing. If the rest had testified as good an Affection for me is the Duke de Nevers, I should not have been forc'd to so suddain an Accommodation with the Court. I know very well that you have the same reason to Complain, that I would have Engaged you in the Treaty when t was almost Concluded, 'twas none of my design to be so basty. But how could I belp t? The Mareschal de Bovillon deceived ne. Thanks be to God, there is yet some temedy left us. I shall have a powerful and

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numerous Party in the Assembly of the The great Men of the Kingdom in Conjunction with my felf, will be able to ob lige the Queen to change her Conduct. I will be easie to set Bounds to her Authority. and to make Considerable Alterations in the Administration of Affairs. If the Queen absolutely refuses to grant our desires, we shall have a fair pretence to Arms. We are never without Malecontents in France. There is a great number of Gentlemen and Soldiers ready to Declare themselves.

> Althô the Duke de Roban had other Principles than du Plessis Mornai, and his displeasure against the Court inclined him to a violent Resolution, yet he had the Prudence not to Engage himself with the Prince de Conde. He only remonstrated to his Highness, that he ought not to depend so much on the States of the Kingdom. The Queen will have more Ar thority there than you, added he. Those which you reckon upon at present will leave you, instead of Supporting you. Fear and Hope, are the Two great Springs which move the Members of these Assemblies: You are not in a Condition to promise them great matters, nor to fright them by Menaces. The Queen bas Preferments and Places u dispose of, she can do a great deal of mis-chief to those that oppose her Will. Win is there that will Declare openly for you, a gainst her Majesty. Believe it Sir, the States Of General will oppose your Designs. Conde see-

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ing that this Interview did not at all incourage his new Projects, he was afraid that his Discourses with the Duke of Roban should raile some Jealousie in the Regent. He writ immediately to the President Feannin, to tell him that his Discourse with the Duke of Rohan, only tended to hinder him from joining with the Duke de Vendome. What meannels, what shameful Artifices are these, for Men of high Birth? Was it necessary that Conde, to excuse himself to the Court, should render the Duke of Roban suspected, that be held Intelligence with the Duke of Vendome? The Prince knew that Roban had advised Vendome to consent to the Treaty at St. Meneboud Riban told Conde this, who appear'd very well pleas'd, that he had given this Advice to a young Man, who was like to Ruine himfelf.

The Prince de Conde had yet another The Prince. Design in his head. He thought to make of Conde himself Master of Poitiers. The Duke designs to de Roannez, Governor of the City, sa make him-voured his Design, and the Marquiss de of Poitiers. Bonnivet was to assemble the Gentlemen to serve this purpose. The time for choosing the Mayor was at hand, there were a great many Factions in the Town. Rannez and some other Friends of Conde had made one, to put into this important Office, a Man in their Interest. Chataigner Bishop of the Place, informed the Regent

of their several Practices, and gave her 1614. Majesty reason to suspect a secret Defign of the Prince of Conde. The Court was higly pleased with the Prelate. They ordered him to have a watchful Eye upon their Contrivances, and to oppole as much as he could the Intrigues of the Governour and Conde's Friends, Chataigner, who was skilled in something else, besides his Breviary, gains the greatest part of the Inhabitants, doubles the Guards every where, and rendred himself more powerful than the Duke de Roannez in the City. His precaution disappointed the Party of the Prince de Conde. He expected with Impatience at Anjou, the news of the Success of the Intrigue which had been formed for him at Poitiers. He fent Lamie, a Gentleman, to exhort his Friends not to desift from their Enterprise. But great Men often spoil the Success of their Affairs, by carrying themseves too high Conde Being offended that the Bishop did not only openly thwart him, but had spoken disrespectfully of him, writ to Chataigner a sharp and provoking Letter, which Latrie was to deliver to him. The Prelate was confirmed in his Opinion, that the Prince had some secret and great Design upon the Town; he resolves to be Revenged of Conde, and to prevent, what ever it cost him the Execution of his Defign. Chatai-

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Chataigner having confer'd with some of his Relations and Friends, thought it his best way to rid himself of the Prince de Conde's Emissary. A certain Person A great Tu suborn'd for that purpose attackt Latrie, mult at and wounded him in feveral Places. The Bishop caused a Cry to be made in the Mercure To vn, that there was a Defign to deliver Francoife. it up to the King's Enemies, the People Role, thut the Gate, put up the Chain, Barricadoed themselves in several Places. The Bishop Arms himself with his Pike in his hand, he encourages the Inhabitants to Stand upon their Guard. The Duke de Roannez, the Governor of Poitiers, runs immediately thuther from his House, which was hard by; And Commands them to demotifh the Barricadoes, and goes to the Bishop's Palace to ask of him the reason of this extraordinary Tumult. But the People being yet more heated by the noise of the arrival of the Prince de Conde near the City, fell upon the Governor, and flightly wounded him in the Face. The Bishop, at whose Instigation all this was done, pretends to receive Roannez into his Palace, to defend him from the fury of the People. Under this pretence, they secure the Person of the Duke, and Chataigner by virtue of a Commission from the Queen, gives all necessary Orders for the safety of the Town. What a fine thing it was to fee a Bishop turn'd Souldier and a Captain ?

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tain? With his Sword by his Side, he Marches round the City every Night, he encouraged the Soldiers, and gave Money out of his own pocket. them The contrary Party reproach'd him in the highest manner : But the good Prelate was not concerned about it. He caused an Apology to be published, the Author of which proved, that it is Lawful for Ecclefiastiks to take Arms in case of neces-The Duke de Roannez took it for a favour, that he might have Liberty to go Some of the Magistrates, and the principal Inhabitants of the Party of the Prince, and Governor left the Town Latrie who was not very dangeroully wounded, likewise made his escape, and found the Prince of Conde, who was come in great haste to Poitiers with a Resolution to stand by those of his Party. But the good Prince had not laid his Defigns right. When du Plessis Mornai understood by

The Gates of Jhut agaenst the Prince of Conde.

Poitiers are an Express from his Highness, that he was gone to Poitiers, with a defign to revenge the outrage that was done him in the Person of Latrie. He sent a Gentleman immediately to the Prince, to befeech him not to expose himself upon this occasion, and content himself with writing to his Majesty, and demand Justice. A Person of your Rank said du Plessis in a Letter, is in danger of being Mortified, when you Expose your self to an enraged Po-

pulacy.

Vie de Mr. du Pleffis. Mornai.

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pulacy, who have no reason to be afraid of you. The Inhabitants of Poitiers have formerly refused to open their Gates to King Henry III. They may well keep them shut now against the first Prince of the Blood. In the Name of God don't proceed to Action, don't call the Neighbouring Nobility to your assistance. The Queen will think this to be a Consequence of your Interview with Mr. de Rohan, and that you have a design to raise new Troubles. A Prince ought not to take one Step from which he may be forc'd to retire, whether he will or no. Conde, who was neither wife, nor cool enough to receive this good Advice, pursues his March towards Poitiers, accompanied with a very small number of Men, but foon faw reason to acknowledge that du Pleffis had gueft right; they flut the Gates of the City against his Highness, the Inhabitants take Arms, and Fire upon his Men. Enrag'd with this Affront, he retires to Chateleraut with those Gentlemen that had joined him, and discharged his Anger upon the Country House of the Bishop of Poitiers, which lay in his way. From Chateleraut he writ to the Regent, complaining of the Inhabitants of Poitiers, and to demand Justice of her Majefty, who laughed heartily at the Mortification, which he had brought imprudently on himfelf.

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These new Motions, the Consequences whereof were to be feared, obliged the Regent to go into Poitou and Bretagne

the Q. his Nother, Jet out for Poitou and Bretagne.

with the King her Son, and to make the The K. and Troops March at the same time. They had spread abroad a Report, that young Lewis was so ill, that he could not Live very long. The fafeft way to confuse this Report, to Reduce the Duke of Vendome, who was always aiming on some ill design in Britagne, and to appeale the discontented Prince de Conde, was to carry the King well Guarded into Poiton and Bretagne, and shew him to the People in those Provinces. In the mean time, Mary de Medicis sent Mon pezat w the Prince de Conde, to amuse him with good Words. Mazurier, Mafter of the Requests had Orders to go to Poitiers. He had either a real or pretended Commission, to enquire who they were that acted against the Prince of Conde. Monpezat presi'd him to retire from Poiton The Queen, faid they to him, defigns to de you Justice. Mazurier comes to this end to Poitiers. But the Prince being reinforc'd by the Nobility, and the Soldiers which the Marquis de Bonnives had brought him, refus'd to go till they had given him Satisfaction.

The Confusim of the P. de Conde; He was extremly troubled, when he be rettres to understood that their Majesty's were st Chateau-Orleans, and that the Troops were on roux in their March. Uncertain which way to Berny.

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take, he sometimes made a shew of going to the Duke de Roban at Sr. Fean d' 1614. Angeli. But what Affistance could he expect from the Huguenits. They were never disposed to fiir in the favour of a wavering Prince, that was imprudent in all his Steps. I don't fee, fays du Pleffis Mornai, of what advantage the Prince's Journey to St. Jean d'Angeli will be to bim. If he goes there with a few Men, be will be despised; if with a great many, it will be troublesome to Mr. de Rohan to Entertain them; can one imagine that the People of St. Jean d'Angeli will Expose themselves to the danger of baving all the King's Forces upon their backs, by giving Reception to a Prince, who bas no Inclination for a Religim which his Ancestors have Defended, and is not capable of doing any great Service to our Churches. Conde was very fenfible, he would never have Reputation enough to draw after him the Huquenot Party, as long as du Pleffis Mornai persisted to perswade the Reformed, from having any hand in their Commotions. The Prince wrote therefore to du Plesses, to ask Advice of him. But his real Defign was to make the Reformed afraid of their Ma-jesties March. This Journey said he in his Letter, was not undertaken, but for one of these Three Reasons. Is there not a Design stake away from those of your Religion, that which the late King bath granted them? Some thank that they are going to receive

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the Infanta, and to accomplish the King's Marriage. For my own part, I believe they come to Ruine me here! Pray tell me, added Conde, what is in your Opinion, best for me to do in this Juncture.

Du Plessis easily perceived, that under a pretence of asking Advice, he folicited him to appear for him. He answered the Prince, that the King's Journey did not at all allarm the Reformed Churches We are perswaded, said he, that the Queen is very sensible, the would put the whole Kingdom into a Flame, if the Should Suffer those of our Religion to be injured. I comfess some People have given it out, that the Queen is going to Receive the Infanta. Should a Prince take his Measures from common Rumour. Are there any Veffets 'ready in the Ports of Spain? Are there an Gallys fitted out at Barcelona? The Infant can't come any other way than by Sea. The Spaniards are too Proud. Don't think the'l ever send their King's Eldest Daughter to us Incognito. She will never come and before the Court of Madrid is fire that the will be received as Queen, before ever for fets Foot in France. I doubt not but bit Majesty is either coming into Bretagne gainst Mr. de Vendome, who has not com fented to the Treaty of St. Menehoud; at lest to Poitiers. Her presence seems at Solutely necessary there. For this reason your Highness can't do better, than make handsome Retreat from Poitiers, It is

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nil you are forced to it. The Duke of Maismu was at that time at Charelerane. He went there with the Confent of the Court, and urged Conde forthwith to Submit to her Majesty. The Prince had no other Course to take. From this last foolish Design, he got nothing but the shame of being forced to hide himself in Chareaurus in Berri. He did not dare to Return to his New Government of Ambois. Those which Commanded for him in that Place of Secarity, which he had so carnetly desired, had so little Respect for him, that they Presented the Keys to the New Queen, when she came there a little while after. Her Majesty seemed to despile the vain Resource of the Prince, in setting him have a Place which the could recover at plearing, without any Resistance.

The Regent used her endeavours to the Remark the away the Suspicious which the firmers of fince of Conde and his Emissaries had an Plefis aspired the Reformed Churches with Mornai, to incerning their Majesty's Journey. As the Resemble on as the Court was arrived at Orleans, the Medical dispatch of a Geneleman Fis de R. Saumur with Credential Letters. He de Plefis as to assure de Plosse, that the King's Liv. III. Imp should not Advance into those novinces, which he on the other fide of Letters & River Leire's That the Queen had no bleme.

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riage with Spain, before the Meeting of the States of the Kingdom, and that they only defigned to Reduce the Duke of Vendome, who every day raised new difficulties against the Treaty of St. Meneboud, although the Marquis de Cœuvres had already made two Journeys into Bretagne, to persuade him to comply, The Court moved from Orleans to Tours, Her Majesty invited du Plessus to come thither. They gave it out, the King and Queen his Mother would not pass by Saumur in their Journy to Bretagne. They don't care, faid some, to be at the discretion of the most Zealous Hugonot in France. These Discourses troubled du Plessis. He resolved to complain of them to the Queen. Madam, said this Gen leman whose Virme exceeded even that of Caro and Aristides, I don't give any credit to what I hear : But if it should be proposed in your Majesties Council, that the King's Person would not be Safe at Saumur, I Should look upon it as the greatest Injury that could be done me. The Government of Saumur was committed w me, as a Reward of the Treaty which I had managed, between the late King and bi That Negotiation, which ! Predeceffor. brought to a happy Conclusion, made no for the late King to fit upon the Throne his Ancestors. God forbid that that Place which be entrusted me with, should ever suspected by the King bis Son. This gene rosity pleased the Queen, She looks про

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Du Plessis had several private Audiences of Mary de Medicis during her flay: at Tours. Her Majesty discoursed very freely to him concerning the present Condition of the Affairs of the Kingdom. He, on his Side, undertook frequently to inculcate upon the Regent the necessity of avoiding a Civil War. Nothing, faid he, does more weaken the Authority of a Prince. I bave beard it several times said to the late King, That he never was really King, till the end of the Civil Wars. What soever they may say to your Majety against those of our Religion, believe Madam. that you have no such faithful Subjects as these, who obey from a Principle of Conscience. We have at least this Advantage above our Adversarys, that we acknowledge no power under God, Superiour to his Ma-The fundamental Maxims of our jesty. Religion, will not allow us to hold any Commerce with Foreigners, who would Encroach upon the Kingdom or the King's Authority. Suffer me to represent to you further, Madam, that they put you to needless Expences, to gain certain Persons of our Religion. We know who those mercenary Souls are. They deceive your Majesty, who tell you, that they can he Serviceable to you. I can tell you a for less Chargeable way to have all the Refumed at your Devotion: That is, to give Orders, that all Promises made to in, be Cc 2

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performed, our Grievances be redreffed, 1614. Some ambiguous Expressions in the Edills be more favourably Interpreted, and some shings be granted un, which may fecure the Peace of our Churches, and do no great Injury to the Roman Catholicks. The ardens and sincere Zeal, which I have for your Majefty, makes me fpeak against my self. Pur-(ue the Meshed which I take the liberty to propose, you may take away when you please our Offices and Panfions. Our Churches, living peaceably under bis Majefty's Prote-Etien, will never concern themselves in my foreur, or for any of the Lords of the Kingdom. .

This Advice was generous and worthy of a truly Christian Gentleman. It might have had some good Effect upon fuch as had no other defign, but to preferve Peace in the Kingdom, by doing Justice and perhaps fome finall gratifics tion to the Reformed. But they were refetred to Ruine them, and to effect defign long fince contrired and purfet For almost an Age together, the Con could not take more convenient Meaf than the corrupting of those who any Credit or Authority in the Reference.

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Queens of France. If the Dukes and Peers, the Mareschals of France, the 1614. Lords and Gentlemen of Note, had had as much Religion and Probity as du Plef fis Mornai, I question whether the Son of him whose History I write, would ever have ventured to attempt the overthrow of the Reformed Churches of his Kingdom. The Posterity of a corrupted Gentry, who had no great Concern for their Religion, does at this day bewail the fatal Consequences of the Basenels of their Ancestors.

The Regent received at Tours, Letters The E. and from the Duke of Majenne. He informed her that the Prince de Conde was po retired to Chateaweux, and that he defired at the present no Reparation of the lajury, which he had con

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Lords and Gentlemen of None, had had as much Religion and Probity as do Plof-fis Mornes, I quellion whether the Son of him whole Hillory I wrise, would over have ventured to attempt the over-throw of the Reformed Churches of his Kingdom. The Posterity of a corrupted Gentry, who had no great Concern for their Religion, does at this day bewail the fatal Consequences of the Basenels of their Anceftors.

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formed her that the Prince de Conde was Poitiers. retired to Chateauroux, and that he de-Mercure fired at the present no Reparation of the Prancis. Injury, which he had complained had 1614. been done him at Poitiers. It was wifely done, to feem to neglect an Offence. for which the Court would never have granted him the Satisfaction which he. expected. The Bishop was too much favoured by the Queen. He went boldly to Tours, with Two hundred of the Inhabitants, to pray their Majesty's to come to Poitiers. That day when Chataigner made appear that he understood the Office of a Captain better than that of a Bishop, was in his Opinion the day of the preservation of Poisiers. Their Majesties went thither. They were Received with all imaginable Expressions of

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Joy. They Elected a Mayor; Mazurier had Orders to remain there as Intendant. Rochfort, Lieutenant General for the King in that Province, a elittle after refigned his Office. The Count de la Rochefoucaut, of the Party of the Guises, succeeded him. They had a mind to have Poitou in their Power, that they might go and Receive the Infanta of Spain, when the time should Memoires de come. The Duke de Roban, being admonished by Velleroi, that the Queen was surprized that he did not appear at Court, fince the was fo near to St. Fean d'Angeli,

Duc de Rohan.

came to pay his Respect to their Majesty's. They received him kindly; and the Regent, taking all oportunities to get him near her self, made him promise to be present at the meeting of the States of

Bretagne, which was to be held at Nantes, their Majestys being present, and to go afterwards to the States General, which

were already appointed to Meet.

The Q. goes to hold a meeting of the States at Nantes. Vie de M. du Plessis Mornai. Liv. III.

Mary de Medicis, pleas'd that every thing went according to her mind, took the Road of Angers, to go to Nantes. Her of Bretagne Majesty had a mind to give a Proof of her Confidence in du Plessis Mornai, as the patied through Saumur. He went to meet the King, being followed by an Hundred Gentlemen. As foon as the Young Lewis had enter'd the Caftle; du Plessis Offer'd to make the Garrison march out. But his Majesty would not permit him. It is not against our Kings, faid

faid the Governor, that we have strong Places in our Possession, they bave been wil- 1614. ling to grant them us, that we may be fecured against the hatred of our sworn Enemies. If at any time his Majesty does the Honour to be present there, we desire no other Mercure Security but his Presence. The Duke de Ven- Francoise. dome, seeing their Majesties came in good Earnest towards him, submitted himself. They gave him New Letters of Re-Memoires establishment, which were Registred in de Bassomthe Parliament of Rennes. But he had the Mortification to fee that in the meeting of the States of the Province of which he was Governor, they made Invectives against him, and took Resolutions, injurious to his Person, and utterly contrary to his Interest. So bad a Beginning, was no good Omen for the rest of the Life of Cafar de Vendome. He could never after, recover his Reputation or Respect. Henry IV. his Father, had Married him to the Heiress of the House of Mercaur, and one of the greatest Fortunes of a Subject in Europe. He wasted the great Estate which she brought him.

May de Medicis Returned triumphant The death of ly to Paris. She found there a Court, de the Prince de Conti. prived of a Prince of the Blood. The loss was not very great. Francis de Bourbon, Prince de Conti, who died the 13th of August made no great Figure in the World. His Widow was foon Comforted after Cc 4 the:

The loss of a weak Husband. She was desperately in Love with Bassompierre. There had passed between them that which they call Marriage before God. Entragues, the famous Marchioness de Vernueil's, Sifter, and Daughter to Mary Touchet, Charles IX. his Miftress, had commenced a Suit against Bassampierre, upon the account of a Promile of Marriage which he had made her. This bappy Spark had Two Wives at the same time: The First out of a Family more Renowned for the fine Ladies which were Married into the Family, or were of it. than for any of its Military Exploits; the Second being the Daughter of the Duke of Guise, and the Widow of a Prince of the Blood, might have done Bassompierre great Honour: But by an odd Accident, Bassompierre would never own the one for his Lawful Wife, the other never dared to make ber Marraige Publick.

New Conof Brandenabout the Government of Juliers.

Whilft the Regent was making pretestsbetween sent Reflections upon the good Success of the Princes her Journey into Poitou and Bretagne, the bourg and Spaniards wifely made their Advantage of Vewbourg, the private Agreement which they had made with Mary de Medicis, to Affift her to maintain her Authority in France, on Cleves and Condition the would not Support, or at leaft not openly oppose their Defigns in Germany and Isaly. These false Politicks of a Regent, who was Ridiculously perfuaded, that the Support of the Pope

and the King of Spain, was necessary for the maintaining her Authority, has al- 1614. ready made her take a great many falle Steps, contrary to the true Interest of her Son: And we shall take notice of Two Interests of more. She should never have suffered Princes, by the Archdukes of the Carbolick Low han part. II. Countries, to send the Marquiss de Spinola Disco. V. with a powerful Army to Execute the Proclamation which the Emperor had Mercure Published against Aix, and under this Francois. pretence, to feize many Important Towns in the Countries of Cleves and Juliers.

Since the Marriage of the Prince of Newbourg with Madeleine of Bavaria, there was a more open difference than ever, between him and the Duke of Brandenbourg. They were Employed in ftrengthening themselves one against the other, both abroad and at home. Two Paffions, very blind, but extremely active in the heart of a young Prince, Ambition, and resentment of an Affront offered him in the face of the World, had inclined Newboorg to join with the Emperor, the King of Spain and the Arch-Dukes of the Catholick Low-Countries. He hoped that the House of Austria and the Catholick League of Germany, of which, the Duke of Bavaria was the head! would affift him to recover those Countries which were in Dispute, as soon as he fhould Embrace the Communion of the Pope. This way of Revenging, C.c s which:

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which the Elector of Brandenburg had given him, feemed to Newbourg the most Advantageous and Glorious. He declared himself a Roman Catholick the 15th of May at Duffeldorp. There is reafon to think, that the Prince deferred his publick Abjuration of the Confession of Augsbourg, in hopes that paffing some time longer under the Name of a Protestant, he should the more easily effect his Defign of making himself sole Master of some of the Principal Towns in Dispute. 'Twas not without Defign, that being in. Juliers in the Month of March, he defired Pirbam, the Governor of the Caftle. to give him and his Retinue Entrance. The Officer, being a greater Friend to the House of Brandenbourg, than to that of Newbourg, refused to admit him, alshough he would enter alone. Pitham relied upon an Article of the Transaction which passed between the Two Houses. that the Governors of Castles and Fortified Places, should not give Entrance to one of the Princes in Possession, unless the other were present. The Governor remaining firm to his Resolution, Newbourg went towards Leige. He went to make a visit to the Elector of Cologne, his New Ally. The Prince of Brandenburg attempted a little while after to furprize Duffeldorp, but he likewise mist his aim, as well as the other.

The States of the United-Provinces, the Electors and Princes of the Empire,

as they were Friends to both Houses, Exhorted them to a Peace, but in vain. 1614. The Jealousie of each other encreast every day, especially after Newbourg had chang'd his Religion. The States of the United-Provinces Sided at that time with the Prince of Brandenbourg. 'Twas for their Interest to hinder, that the whole Succession of Cleves and Juliers should not fall to a Prince devoted to the House of Austria, and Engag'd in the Catholick League of Germany. Brandenbourg agreed to them, that they should be Possest of the City and Castle of Juliers, which they should hold by way of Sequestration. This undertaking had its Success by means of Pitham, who was gained over. He suffered the Soldiers to enter therein, with the Officers which the Prince of Orange had fent. Newbourg on his Side had the Policy to make himfelf Master of Dusseldorp, where he Fortified himself, the best he could. These Enterprises of Brandenbourg and Newbourg feem'd to be the Preliminaries of an open War, which began quickly after. There was talk of an Accommodation at a Conference held at Wefel, but the Prince of Newbourg not being willing to dismis the Troops he had raised, unless the City and Caftle of Juliers were put into the same Condition they were before the Holland Garrison enter'd; they separated without coming to any Conclusion. Each one thought of nothing more than main-Cc6 taining

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taining his Right by open Violence, and the Succours of his Allyes. The Affair hapen'd otherwise than the Two Princes imagin'd. The Spaniards and the States of the United-Provinces, these under the pretence of Relieving the House of Newbourg, the other, that of Brandenbourg, divided betwixt them almost all the Succeffion, which was in Controversie.

The Emperor Redelph had put the City

of Aix-la-Chapelle under Interdiction of the Empire, by reason of the Change the Protestant Party had made in the Magi-The City of ftracy, in the Year 1611. But being dead before that the Archduke Albert, under Inter- his Brother, and Ernest of Bavaria, then

Elector of Cologne, dared to execute the Commission his Imperial Majesty had directed to them, for the reducing the Inhabitants of Aix; the Duke of Deuxe Ponts, Administrator of the Electorate Palatine, and Vicar of the Empire, during the Interregnum, made all the procedures void, and what ever Rodolph Ordained against the City of Aix-la-Chapelle. After Matthias his Brother had fucceeded him, Complaint was made to the Imperial Court, of the Duke of Deux-Ponts's Undertaking; and the Catholicks pres'd forward the Execution of the Ban, publisht by the deceas'd Emperour. His Majesty easily granted what the Pepe and

the Spanlards maintain'd in his Courcil. However, it appear'd to him, That the D. of Deux Ponts had gone beyond his Autho-

Chapelle diction.

Aix.la-

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rity, and Enchrocht upon the Emperor, by annulling what Redolph had in his life time 1614.

Ordered. Wherefore the City of Aix-la-Chapelle was again put under the Ban of the Empire the 20th of February in this Year. The Arch-Duke Albert, and Ferdinand of Bavaria, Successor to Ernest in the Electorate of Cologne, had Commission to put the new Order in Execution.

Albert, ftraight after rais'd great Forces in the Low Countries under his Dominions. The States of the United Provinces. watchful of the Spaniards motions, fo near to them, put themselves on their Side in Arms and posture of Desence. Good Policy required no less than that they should stand upon their Guards, and oppose what the House of Austria should attempt against the States of Cleves and Juliers, which they found to lie conveniently for them : 'Twas not necessary. to raise such great Forces to bring the City of Aix-la-Chapelle into Submission; for every one well knew that the Spaniard kept close another Delign which was more Important. Both the Armies lay, for fome time without moving; yet each of 'em was fearful of being charg'd with the reproach of having broke the Truce. made betwixt the Arch-Dukes and the States General of the United-Provinces. France and England ought naturally to . put in for to heal these Differences, and hinder the House of Austria from coming into the Controverted Succession.

But

But Philip had his Penfioners in the Councils of France and England too. Being affured that James and Mary de Medicis would stand Neuters, he resolv'd that Spinola, General of his Troops in the Low Countries should, under pretence of the Ban publish against the City of Aix-la-Chapelle, March as foon as might be; and coming back, Seife on the best Places of the States of Cleves and Juliers : And this was the means of disposing afterward as he pleas'd of fo fair a Succesfion. What the United-Provinces undertook upon the City and Castle of Juliers, feem'd to the House of Austria a sufficient Warrant to justifie what they intended to do a long time before.

Spinola Reduceth Aixla-Chapelle makes him-Self Master of many places in Juliers.

And now Spinola is in the Field with an Army of about Thirty thousand Men. He passeth the Maes to Mastricht, and from thence goes and Invests Aix-la-Chapelle. The Inhabitants, too weak to make Cleves and any opposition, ask for Pardon the Second day, and submit themselves to his Imperial Majesty. Spincia, now Master of the City, Restores the ancient Catholick Magistrates and Removes the Protestants. Some of these were Imprisoned, who had any hand in the Alteration made in the Year 1611, and others faved themfelves as they could, leaping over the Walls of the City. After, according to his fancy, he had Regulated all things in Aix-la-Chapelle, this Spinola Marches to-

ward

wards the States of Cleves. Duren opens the Gates to him, and from thence he goes to Mulbeim; there he demolisheth the Fortifications, fills up the Trenches, Confequential to some Imperial Demands which Cologne had obtained, which was always opposite to the Raising of a New City, which the Princes of Brandenbourg and Newbourg had began there some Years ago. At length the Spanish General, strengthened by the joint Troops which Newbourg had brought him, befig'd Wefel, took it; feifed on Duisbourg and many other Places.

then at Schenk Fort at the head of Eigh- takes many teen thousand Men, on his Side likewise places on his put himself upon taking of Places. He Side in the got to be Master of Emerick, Rees, and fame Counsome other Towns, in a little time. particular passage was then seen: Two Interests des Armies, at Enmity one with the other, princes par-seiz'd on the Succession of Cleves and Ju-Mr. de Rohiers without breaking the Truce which han. II. Parwas betwixt them, without fetting one cours V. upon the other, and without drawing their Swords. The most speedy of the Two Generals made the greater Progress. When one had taken one Place, the o-

ther retired without laying any pretence. to it. 'Tis faid that Prince Maurice only fent to Spinola to know in what Prince's time he enter'd in an Hostile manner into the Country; and Spinola answered, in

Maurice Prince of Orange, who was Maurice P.

returning

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returning the same Question to him-Spinola dar'd not to attack Maurice, who had a Braver and more Experienced Army. And Maurice would not hazard his Troops, which were the main ftrength of the United-Provinces. He believ'd that the States General would have glory and advantage enough in Sharing, without running any Risque of the Succession of Cleves and Juliers, with the King of Spain. The Two Generals continu'd their Expedition without disturbing one the other in any thing, but making all poffible haft. Spinola made an end in making a detatehment of his Army o're towards Juliers, where he had taken some Places. Maurice sent Prince Frederick Henry his Brother into the Dutchy of Mark to do the like. A new way of Warring one with the other, by being but outwardly on both Sides good Friends !

Conference at Santheim upon the Succef-Gon of Juliers.

It is not less furprising, that the King of England, the Queen Regent of France, and the Protestant Princes of Germany, should stand as idle Spectators of all Cleves and these motions, in an Affair wherein at first they all feem'd to be so much concern'd. But why? Mary de Medici devoted to the Court of Rome, was contented to give Words and fend Embaffies to propose an Accommodation. King Fames, whose Council as well as France's was bought by the Spaniard, did not believe

lieve that he ought to be more hotly of Germany, forsaken by both these Crowns, and divided thro Affection and Interest, what could they do in the Case? Nevertheless, upon this occasion some hopes of life were to be given; The Succession of Cleves and Juliers scemed to be Expos'd to him who could first Grasp it : France, England, Denmark, the Confederase Princes, the Count Palatine, the Elector of Cologne, and some other Princes of Germany, fent at last their Agents to Santheim for to Confer there about the means of stopping these Stirs, and ending this long Contest. Brandenbourg and Newbourg, having both of them given in their Demands and Reasons in Writing, a Trafaction was drawn up, which the Two were in the mean time to observe, whilft the Difference was adjudged by Law: But when it came to the Point, to get Spain and the United-Provinces to agree to these Articles, there was so much difficulty to compass this, as 'twas not possible to come to any end. The States threw the blame upon Spinola, and the Spaniard upon Prince Maurice. May fpeak the truth, feither one or tother car'd for any accommodation. Each one thought of an Advantage from what he had taken.

The good fuccess of the Spaniards Savoy falls Arms towards Germany feem'd to Fluth Spain mere

The Duke of and then ever.

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Lib. I. 1614. Siri Memo. recondite. Tom. III. P. 242. 243. &cc.

Francois. 161.4

Mercure

and render more Proud than they were before the Catholick King's Agents in Italy. But Inojola, Governor of Milan, had neither the Wit nor Bravery of Spinola. The Duke of Savoy oridicul'd the Threats penly him, as from the King of Spain. Nani Histo- Assure me, faith he, that the King of ria Veneta. France won't Attack me; I know well enough hew to defend my felf against the Catholick Ring. Don't we know well enough what the Spaniard at this time is able to do? He is far from being so formidable as he was in Charles I. Reign, and in the former Years of his Son's. The Duke of Savoy is not the most Puissant Neighbour Philip bath; but perhaps he fears him less than any one else. And thus resolved to maintain his Dignity against all Persons who talkt domineeringly to him, Charles Emanuel preserves himself for an open Breach with his Catholick Majesty. The Marquis of Cauvres had scarce left Italy, but the Spaniards, satisfied to see themselves after this the fole Arbitrators of the difference between the Two Houses of Savoy and Mantua, fummoned again Charles Emanuel to conclude the Marriage of his Daughter, the Widow of Duke Francis, with Cardinal Ferdinand, Duke of Mansua, and to Disband his Army forthwith. Immediately after this was done, they promifed to endeavour an accommodation of his differences with the faid Cardinal. Charles

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Charles Emanuel made this indifferent anfwer, That he could not break up his 1614. Troops fo long as France was in Arms on all Sides. As for the Marriage of my Daughter with bis Brother-in-Law, he continued, that my Council is of Opinion, that I ought first to have Justice done me, and be Endemnified for the Pretensions I have to Montferrat and the House of Mantua. The Ambassador defired, he might have his Answer in Writing, to the end he might fend it to Madrid. The Duke made no fland at this; and, to give notice to the Spaniards that he would not obey them as their Subject, Orders new Levies, Cafts new Cannon, Stores his Magazines in presence of his Catholick Majesty's Ambaffador.

This Resolution made the Spanish Agent fear, left Charles Emanuel, repulft after an Imperious way, as Inojosa had used him, thould run out into more desperate Attempts; wherefore in milder Language he proposed to his Highness, the sending of Lawyers to Milan, with a power to Negotiate with them who should come from the Cardinal Duke, upon the mutual pretentions of both Houses. The Governor of Milan and the Prince of Castiglione were to be the Mediators of this new Negoriation, in behalf of the Emperor and King of Spain. Charles Emanuel could not reject the proposal. He nominated Three

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of his most able Lawyers. Both Parties met, and divers Expedients were propofed to bring the Two Princes to an Accommodation. The first Demands of Savoy's Agents appeared Extravagant; but in the end were much flacken'd, The Prince of Castiglione might by chance have ended this Affair upon Terms reafonable enough, by a double Marriage betwixt the Two Houses, and yielding up some dependance of Montferrat, which was near to Piedment, and lay fit for the Dukes of Savoy; if the Governor of Milan, less Patient than Castiglione, bad not fpoilt all through his too high Demands: For he imperiously caused it to be fignified, that the Duke should difarm in Six days time, being vext that Charles Emanuel made to much difficulty to accept of the Conditions which the Spaniards had offer'd him. He, before he had commanded thus after so absolute a way; sould have put himself into a Condition of making himself to have been speedily Obey'd, in case of a refusal. To send these precise Orders as coming from the King of Spain, and not to have his Troops in any readiness for making an Irruption into Piedmont, was not this to Expole out of Season a Powerful King in an Engagement with an Inferior Prince, who had fufficiently made it known, that he would never yield, but at the laft Extremity ?

Book V. LEWIS XIII.

As soon as a Monarchy believes it self ~ A to be Superior, it grows Imperious, and 1614. instead of Treating upon Affairs, impo feth Laws. The Spaniards had got this haughtiness of Mind in the Reign of Philip II, and were willing to preferve it after his death. Would not one have done better, to have called to mind, that Spain had already given some certain figns of her declining Condition ? What Spain would have Effected in those days, France is endeavouring to imitate in ours. We have feen him talk extream haughtily to Charles Emanuel's Grandchild : He harb been proudly threatned to be Invaded by the Arms of France. And what was the upfor of this? The Duke of Savor, as Courageous and Prudent as his Grandfather, was, like him, weary to fee himfelf dealt with as a Subject. He's in Confederacy with a great Number of the Enemies which France has brought upon it felf: And he hath quickly feen those who had taken Cities, and won Battles come to him, and speak as Supplicant. Too fortunate for to buy hamefully a Peace from a Prince whom they had flighted! In Three Months time, faid a Proud and Brutish Minister of France, There shall be no mention longer made of the Duke of Savoy. The History of our times will fpeak quite another thing, than this Man ever thought for. Posterity will read there with aftonishment and

Italy, in his present and Predecessors Reign.

The Duke of Savoy engain the Venetians to bis Side.

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1614.

As discontented as the Venetians were deavours to with the reftless and troublesome Hamour of Charles Emmanuel, who strove to difturb the quiet of Lab to fatisfie his Ambition, yet they were not forry to fee, that a Prince so unequal in Power to

Lib. I.

1614.

Siri Memo. recondita Tom. III. p. 241.

Nani Hifts- Spain, should be alone capable to Hector ria Veneta. and Perplex People who had a mind so make the whole World tremble at them. The undaunted Courage of the Duke of Savoy, which he shewed in maintaining his Dignity of a Sovereign Prince, so well pleased the Senate, as they were the better disposed to hearken to the proposals which Charles Emmanuel had to offer to this Republick. The Duke of Savoy perswaded, that the Senators, who did not want Courage, were angry at the pride and haughtiness of Spain, and that they would be glad to fee an imperious plotting Nation far removed from their Frontiers, fought to fathom the Inclinations of the Senate, by making an Overture to them of a League Offensive and Defensive, for the Confervation, or rather Recovery, of the Liberties of the Sovereigns of Italy, But yet he did not know how to enter into a Negociation with them, who had openly Comath

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Complained against him, for fending back their Ambassador after an unworthy manner. Cardinal Aldobrandin, his Friend, had tryed to make up the bufinels for him with the Senate; but they would not give Ear to him. James I. King of Great-Britain, fought to be a Mediator in the Affairs of Italy, and gain some Authority and Reputation in those Parts. He laboured after the Amiry of the Venetians for a long time, and the Duke of Savoy had laid many of his Intrigues in England; wherefore Charles Emmanuel resolved to apply himself to Carleton. Fames's Ambassador at Venice, and defire him to get leave for Piscina's Audience, a Man of great Ingenuity and Eloquence, whom he had fent to the Senate. Carleton had not much trouble to obtain this. The Seignory consented to receive Savoy's Envoy, having a better Opinion of Charles Emmanuel fince the Spaniards had molested him.

Piscina set forth all his Eloquence in a Speech to the Senate. He Complain'd in it of the King of Spain's Attempts, Protested that the Duke his Master had rather die, than endure the Indignities the Spaniards shew'd him, he lamented the unfortunate Servitude of the Princes of Italy, Argued upon the Consequences of the great Power the Court of Madrid usurpt to themselves, Entreated the Senate to reflect feriously upon all the Steps his

Carholick

Catholick Majesties Ministers had pro-1614. ceeded. At last this long Harangue tended to Declare that Charles Emmanuel. who gloried to be the Eldeft Son of the Republick, threw himself into the Arms of the Senate, a Protector of Oppressed Princes, whom his Highness did earnestly Entreat to affift him with their Advices, and fland by him as a Father. As the Venetians had some cause to Complain of the Duke's Irruption into Montferrat, spight of their Remonstrances, fo his Envoy had Orders to appeale 'em, by offering to make them Arbitrators of the Duke's Difference with the House of Mantua.

> The Venetian Writers Embellish with all the Art they are able these Actions in their History. One would fay, that they were going to Infinuate into us, that Sovereigns have the same Respect for their Senate, the same Honour, which mighty Kings had heretofore for the Senate of Old Rome. I grant to the Senate of Venice all that is their due ; but I find them far beneath the Senate of Rome. after the had extended her Dominions into Africa, Spain, Greece, and Afia. Romans belides, Scoffe at those Kings who basely Crept to them : And I don't know if the Quality of being Eldest Son of St. Mark, which Charles Emmanuel took upon him, be not as unworthy of the Duke of Savoz, as to be a free Cire

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Book V. LEWIS XIII.

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Possest of Rame is unworthy of a Sovereign
Possest of a fair Kingdom. A Prince
who intends to make himself distinguishs
thro all Europe, by upholding so bravely
his Dignity against the King of Spain,
does it become him to Creep after this
manner to the Nobles of Venice, whose
Original is not very Illustrious, nor their
Independence so Ancient? The Ambassador, whom the King of Spain had at
that time at Venice, will know at some
time or other how to prove this to them.

He was the famous Marquis of Bedmar,

whose Name will be odious to the Ve-

When this Minister, as jealous as any other would be of the Glory of his Prince, had understood what Piscina had said to the Senate from the Duke of Savoy, he Demanded to be heard in his Turn. The Spaniard spoke briskly of Philip's good Intentions for the Confervation of the repose of Italy, of the Money he had disburft, and of the pains he had taken every day to this purpole. The King my Master, said Bedmar, was in the right to make use of the most efficacious and rigorous means be could for bringing the Duke of Savoy to the reasonable Conditions, which have been so often offered him. The fear which his Majesty bath of creating too great a Jealousie in the Princes of Italy, hash been the only means of keeping him back in this Occasion. We have had all the Patience imaginable Dd

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ginable. All Expedients have been fet on Foot that were judged the most proper to end the difference that bath lafted fo long a time, betwixt the Houses of Savoy and Mantua. If the sweet Temper and Clemency of my Master are of no other Service than to render the Duke of Savoy more Proud and Daring, can any one think it strange, that bis Majesty should threaten bim, to use at this time the Power God bath put into bu Hands, and that be should Protect with the force of bis Arms the Duke of Mantua, who is Attackt with great Injustice? The Proceedings of the Duke of Savoy are sufficiently known in the World, and now be fees bimfelf brought to that pass, as that he must be contented with the equitable Conditions granted him, and break up his Troops, which his Restlefness and Ambition had rais'd to his vaft Expences, be laies Intrigues, endeavours to Surprife unawares the Princes of Italy, with a defign to stave off the Composition offered bim, and avoid the shame of disarming after so great a Bustle. The Senate bath infight and pries narrowly into Affairs. They know from a long Experience, the Humour and Dissimulation of the Duke of Savoy: And this is sufficient to prevent their being blinded by the Artificial Discourse of be New Envoy.

Thô the Venetians were more favourable to Charles Emmanuel, than to the King of Spain's Ministers, the Senate avoided the making of any Engagement

with

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with the Duke of Savoy. They excused themselves from medling with the Affair 1614. of Montferrat, and the reciprocal Pretenfions of the Houses of Savoy and Mantua ? the Arbitration of these things being referred to the Emperor and King of Spain. His Highness was Exhorted to make an Agreement with the Cardinal Duke, to give Some fatisfaction to the Catholick King, to yield to the strongest, as far as the Quality of a Sovereign Prince would permit him. At length the Senate endeavoured to comfort him with their promise of doing him all the good Turns they could upon this Occurrency, and not to fuffer him to be Opprest. The Spaniards took it ill, that Savoy's Envoy had so favourable an Audience at Venice. The Governor of Milan, who had conceived Anger against the Republick, loudly Complained of it. Miftrust encreased on both Sides, insomuch as the Senate ordered New Levies, and kept themselves on their Guard, in Case there should happen an open Rupture betwixt Spain and Savoy. The Venetians however affected to flew outwardly a perfect Neutrality: They discours'd like common Friends, who strive rather to be Mediators, than embrace one Parry before another. Yet what ever care they took to hide and dissemble their true Sentiments, the Court of Spain would not trust them. 'Twas well enough per-Dd 2 ceived

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ceived that they would never fuffer the Duke of Lerma to bring about his Defigns, which he had contrived for the Duke of Savoy's Rume, and to put the Princes of Italy into an entire dependance on the Catholick King's will. The Spaneards Jealousies and Suspicions were hereupon more awaken'd. Charles Emmanuel had fent his Chief Minister's, Son to Venice, in Quality of Ordinary Ambassador, and the Senare nominated Renser Zeno to be Resident with the Duke of Savoy, whilft his Highness openly maintains a War against Spain.

The Narquiss of Rambovillet is nominated simbaffador Extraordinary from France into Italy.

Siri Memo. Recondite. Tom. III. p. 263.264.

Charles Emmanuel relied upon the Officers and French Soldiers, who would never fail to Run into his Service, as foon as the Governor of Milan should make a fliew of being willing to attack Pirdmone. His Highness kept a strickt Correspondence with the Mareschal Lefdignieres, who was Governor in Dauphiny, and the Spaniards did not quefron, but this Old Friend of the Duke of S'door, would willingly give him Succonts. Thefe Confiderations Engaged Inight de Cardenas, the Spanish Ambattador in France, to go for Nanres, where the Regent was at that time. He had recefved Orders to Complain to her Majesty of the Duke of Savoy's obstinacy, and to Abuld find himself in a necessity to pro-

Memoires de lecure Prante, in case the Catholick King la Regence de Marie de tell wich open Force the Cardinal Duke Medicis.

of Mantua, and punish the Pride and Rashnels of Charles Emmanuel. The Af- 1614. fair having been debated in the Queen's Council, the necessity of an Accommodation of the Difference, as foon as poffible, was throughly perceived; the Confequences of which might go a great way farther. This was not so much a Contest between the Houses of Savoy and Mantua. There was behind-hand a fear left the Spaniards should Invade Piedmont. The Marquis de Rambovillet was nominated her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary into Italy, for to go and Negotiate an Accord joint with Julius Savelli, the Pope's Nuncio Extraordinary. France and Spain had follicited Paul V. to interpose his Authority with the Duke of Savoy, but the good Man did not care to meddle with Savoy's Affairs. Charles Emmanuel profest he had no great regard of Historie & his Holiness, and the Pope said, he did Connestable not care to Treat with a Prince, whose guieres. Word he could not trust to. The In- Liv. VIII. stance of Spain came in Season to Chap. 7. hinder the Duke of Savoy from taking any Officers and French Soldiers into his Service. The Mareschal de Lesdiguieres fent to ask of her Majefty leave to maife in Dauphiny Two thouland Boot, and some Horse for the Duke of Saser. The Regent would not grant this; the fosbids likewife all the French to go into Charles Emmanuel Service. In spight of all these Dd a politive.

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positive and severe Orders of the Queen, Lesdiguieres found out a way to pals some Thousands into Piedmone, who wonderfully reinforc'd Savoy's Army.

Open War betwixt Spain and. Savoy.

Charles Emmanuel was constant in his Resolution not to Disband his Troops, unless the Governor of Milan would do the fame likewife, or give affurances that

Nani Hiftoria Veneta. Lib. I.

he would do it, as toon as the Duke of Savoy had first began this, in Honour to his Royal Majefty. Inojofa would not flinch back a jot from his Pretentions, that rhe King his Master had Right to give the word of Command, and that it did not belong to a Duke of Savoy to

Siri Memo. recondite. Tom. III. &C.

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Treat with the Crown of Spain, as an Equal does with an Equal, or a Sovereign with a Sovereign. There was then a neceffity of coming to an open War. The p. 226, 227. Spanish Ambassador at Turin having great-

> ly reproach't Charles Emmanuel, told him down right, that his Catholick Majesty, provok'd, through fo long a Resistance,

Mercure Francoise. 1614.

was going at last to do himself Justice. Charles liftn'd to this without being mov'd at it; but plucking the Collar of the Golden-fleece from off his Neck, which had been heretofore presented him, returned it disdaipfully to the Ambassador, faying, God forbid, that I should ever

wear the Order of a Prince, who intends to deal with me as if I were his Subject, The Governor of Milan had his Troops in readines to march; and he further ex-

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pected a reinforcement, which was to come to him from Naples and Sicily. And now see Inojosa advanc'd near to Verreil with the thoughts that the Duke would humbly submit himself, as soon as the Spanish Army should enter his Country. Twas believ'd this was not done without some Design; that the King of Spain had ordered Prince Philibert, Son of Charles Emmanuel, whom his Catholick-Majesty had made General of his Forces at Sea, should Conduct himself to Gemua the Troops defigned against Savoy. Was not this to infult over the Duke, by making him see, that his Son carried, (if I may so say,) to the Governor of Milan; Rods, wherewith Philip, or rather the Duke of Lerma, intended to whip a poor Prince, who dared to refift a Potent King.

These Bravades did not at all aftonish Charles Emmanuel. He on his Side entered into the Milanese Country, where his Troops did more harm, than the Spanish had done in his. His Highness got both Glory and Reputation: For at last the Marquis Inojosa appeared to be a Novice in the Art of War. The Spanish Army fail'd of the fair opportunity of beating the Savoyards, who were inferior to them in Number. The bad Conduct of this Expedition, had render'd the Governor of Milan despicable in Italy. They were glad to see the Pride of Spain Dd 4

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humbled. Inojosa, for to be avenged in fome manner, and at the same time curry favour with the Duke of Lerma, who Protected him, undertook to raise a Fort near enough to Verceil, upon the King of Spain's Lands. It's called the Fort of Sandoval, from the Name of the Duke of Lerma's Family. The Governor's defign was to bridle Verceil, cover the Milanois, and close up an Entry to Foreigners, who might eafily this way make an Irruption into it. The Spaniards had for a long time thought on this Enterprise, but for fear that such a Novelty might allarm the Neighbouring Princes, the Court of Madrid let alone their Delign. They expected some favourable Conjuncture. Inojofa thought that the opportunity of the Breach with the Duke of Savoy, was a fit time to do it. The important Service which he pretended to do his Master, did not secure him from the Reproaches of the understanding Men of his own Nation. They Complained that the Governor had loft time in building of the Fort of Sandoval. They loudly faid, that 'twas easie to Reduce the Duke of Savoy by Entering a good way into Piedmone, with an Army much stronger than his. The whole Court of Madrid took the liberty of talking sharply against Inojosa and Charles Emmanuel. They accus'd the First of his Slowness, Fear, Ignorance and perhaps Infidelity. As for the

Book V. LEWIS XIII.

the Duke of Savoy, his Name was abhorred amongst them, and detestable. 1614. Philip's Chief Agent did not threaten Charles Emmanuel with less than irrecoverable Ruine.



The Spaniards were laught at when Reciprocal they resolved to Fight with the Pen a- Writings gainst the Duke of Savoy. The Captain from the K. General of Justice in the State Captain of Spain to General of Justice in the State caused a Duke of Placaet to be put up, wherein he De-Savoy. clared, That the County of Ast and all other Seigniories, which the Duke of Sa-Mercure voy, as they faid, held in Fief of the Francoife. Dukes of Milan, were Confiscated to his Catholick Majefty, by reason of Charles Emmanuel, his Vassal's Treason. The Prince of Castiglione, the Emperor's Commissioner in Italy, caused it likewise to be fignified to the Duke, That there was a Mandate, wherein he was Ordered in the Emperor's Name, to Disband his Army presently, and refrain from all Acts of Hostility in Montferrat, and upon the Lands of the Cardinal Duke of Mantua, under Penalty of being pur under the Ban of the Empire. Charles Emmanuel on the contrary defended himself with his Pen very vigcurously. His Exchequer Chamber Declared by a publick Act, that the County of Aft was immediately held of the Empire, and as for the other Lands specified by his Catholick Majesty's Officer, they had never been Fiefs of the Dutchy of Milan. The Em-Dd s peror

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1614.

For was much more respectfully dealt withal. Charles Emmanuel writ to him a long Letter by way of Apology and Manifesto. The Duke gives therein the reason of his Conduct, Complains mightily of the Haughtiness and Enterprises of the Spanish King and his Minifters in Italy, and accuseth the Prince of Castiglione of being devoted to the Humour of the Spaniards, against the true Interest of his Imperial Majesty. 'Twas faid, that the Spaniards, were not oversatisfied with Castiglione's proceedings. They would have had the Principality of Piedmons put under the Ban of the Empire, and the execution of this committed to the Governor of Milan. Imperial Court did not think it convenient to go with fo much precipitation. They were not so blind, but they could perceive that the Spaniards were too powerful in Italy. Whilft the Spaniards and the Savoyards

The Pope's the Ambas-Indor of F. endeavour an accom. modation be-

Nani Hift. Vineta. Lib. 1.

1614.

Nuncio and Fight one the other, sometimes with their Swords, and at other times with their Pens, the Marquis of Rambovillet and the Nuncio Savolli proposed different Projects for an Accommodation of the and Savoy. Duke of Savoy, with the Governor of Milan. The Regent of France, who otherwise was not well pleased with the Duke of Savoy, and would deal tenderly with the Court of Spain, had given Orders to her Ambassador, to endeavour

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for the Peace of Italy, without much troubling her felf to satisfie the nice Pride 1614. of Charles Emmanuel, who aspired to Treat with Crowned Heads as if they were his equals. Therefore Rambovillet, Siri Memo. presi'd the Duke of Savoy to Disband his Recondite. Army the first, upon the Governor of p. 287,288, Milan's word, which he should give, as 289. &c. coming from his Mafter, to the Pope and King of France, that neither Piedmont, nor any other of the States belonging to Mercure the House of Savoy, should be attackt, 1614. and that his Catholick Majesty should Disband his Troops, Fifteen or Twenty days after. The Pope and the King of France offered to be Guarrantees of the Treaty, and Rambovilles protested to Charles Emmanuel, that the Mareschal Lesdiguieres should come to his Succour, with all the Forces of France, in case Spain should break the Treaty. The Duke was a long time shuffling hereupon. He did not believe that he ought to put too great a Confidence in the words of France, at a time, when France had greater Engagements with the Crown of Spain than ever. Besides, he considered that the Governor of Milan, not difbanding till after him, he should lie at the discretion of the Spaniards, who might chase him out of Piedmont, before the Succours of France could get over the Alps: But on the other Side reflecting, that if he provok't the Pope Dd 6

and France, in refusing with too much stubbornness, the Conditions which their Agents offered him, he should be forfaken of all the World, Charles Emmanuel found himself in so great a perplexity, as he did not know what Resolution to take.

> A League with the Republick of Venice was his only Remedy, he follicited the Senate as much as he was able, to join with him, to drive away the Spaniards from the Milanefe. Spain, said he, to Zeno the Venetian Ambassador, is nothing like what it was beretofore. The Country of Milan lies on all Sides open, and may be over-rim in the space of one or two Campaigns. If France doth not Declare for us, she won't be against us. Her best Officers and Soldiers, who are most Experienc'd, will come over to us, and take our part, even by the King's confent. The Princes of Italy who are mostly depending upon Spain, will make an Insurrection against ber, as soon as they see her Power shaken in our Principality. Every one will be glad to share a Part in the Spoil. The Duke had to no purpole exhaulted all his Eloquence and Policy upon the Senate. This prudent. Affembly was not disposed to follow the impetuous and revengful Humour of Charles Emmanuel. A too long Experience had taught them, that his Highness fought for nothing but to Embroil Italy, and fet it all in Fire, in hopes of making himfelf

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himself Great, or at least be talkt of. His Remonstrances and Proposals were 1614. not better hearken'd to in England, nor by the States General of the United-Provinces, nor the Protestant Princes of Germany. He proposed Leagues in all the Courts that were Jealous of the Grandeur of Spain, and he could not find so much as one of these, who would be drawn into his vast and Chimerical Projects. Only the King of England did him some kindness with the Venetians. But the Issue of this was, to let the Senage see, that it was not convenient to fuffer Spain to oppress the Duke of Savoy, and that a way ought to be found out, of making an Agreement, which might be Honeft, Firm, and as Advantageous as possibly might be, to a Prince, who held fo confiderable a Rank in Italy.

Charles Emmanuel after he had seri-The D. of oully reflected on the Posture of his Af-Savoy acfairs, took such a Resolution as he had cepts of the Conditions been observed to take upon the like Oc-proposed, concurrences; and this was to accept of Spain result he Conditions which the Nuncio and set them. the Ambassador of France had proposed to him. The fear of having all the World upon his back, and the hopes of getting the Mediators to be on his Side, in case the Spaniards should make any difficulty of consenting to the Project of an Accommodation, contributed much to the sudden alteration, which appeared

to be in the Duke of Savoy's mind. Saat Verceil, a provisional Treaty, till such time as a difinitive Judgment was pass'd upon the Difference rais'd betwixt the Houses of Savoy and Mantua, Emmanuel fairly offered to Sign it. The Marquis Inojosa would not do the like. As he had at that time been for the Interests of the Cardinal Duke of Mantua. with as much zeal as he at first had favoured the Duke of Savey, so he rejected the Article, which contained in it, that a certain dependance of Montferrat, called Canavele, sould remain in Sequestration, till the Controverse upon the Duke of Savor's Pretentions against the House of Maneua was determined by Arbitrators chosen on both Sides. The Mediators prepared in the City of Aft another Project of a Treaty, in presence of Charles Emmanuel. The Article touching Canavese in this was left out, and they put into the Room of it. That the Cardinal Duke should pay the Dowry, give up the Jewels of Maragarite of Savoy, his Sifter-in-Law, at a certain prefixt time, and besides this, should pay in Two years space the Portion of Blanche of Montferrat, for which the Dukes of Savor and Mantua had Contested so long a time. The other Articles Decreed, That the Prisoners and Places taken on both Sides, should be Restored, and that each of

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of the Two Princes thould make an Act of Oblivion for all those of thier Subjects 1614. who had ferved against them.

Charles Emmanuel fign'd this willingly, being exceedingly contented, that he was Siri Meme. to give no satisfaction to the King of recondite. Spain, or to ask his Pardon; but the Mar- p. 293.294. quis of Rombovillet was blamed for &c. having been too hasty in his Negociation. The Spaniards accus'd him for fuf- Nani Hift. fering himself to be lead by the Duke of Veneta. Savoj. Others reported that he was too Lib. 1. impatient of his Return to the Court of France. The Cardinal Duke of Mantua Mercure was in all appearance to better himself Francoise. in this Treaty; for how could be difpense with the payment of a Dowry, and give up the Jewels of his Brother's Widow? As for Blanche's Portion of Montferrat, he pretended that the House of Mantua had been acquitted of it. Ferdinand then, when they Demanded it, might have answer'd, That his Predecesfors had already fatisfied the Debt : But he was so devoted to the Spaniards, for obtaining their Protection, as he did not dare to accept of any thing without their Approbation. The Duke therefore feeing that they had rejected haughtily the Treaty of Afte, thô the Pope and States of Venice judged it reasonable, Protested he had rather die than fign it. The Emperor wonder'd he was not fo much as mentioned in an Accommodati-

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on which toucht a confiderable Fief o the Empire in Italy. But there was not much care taken of his Complaints. The King of Spain, his Relation, had less regard than any one elfe to the Rights of the Empire in Italy. As to the Court of France, the Opinions there of the Treaty of Aft, were divided. Many de Medien, who favoured the King of Spain, and had a thousand reasons to be angry with the Duke of Savey, was not very well contented with what Rembovillet had Negociated. She would have been in the mind to have given Charles Emmanuel the Mortification of humbling himfelf before the King of Spain, as he had done some years before. But the Duke had his referve of Friends in France. A great many People there cryed out against the Pride and Haughtiness of the Spaniards, who would not have Charles Emmanuel acquitted for Disbanding his Army Fifteen or Twenty days before the Governor of Milan. They pretended, that this Sovereign Prince, whom the Duke of Lerma hated mortally, ought to be obliged to Submit to the King of Spain, and his Favourites discretion, and beg Pardon of his Majesty, for that he had not obeyed the Orders of the Court of Madrid, without making any Reply. Did ever any one behold the like Arrogance?

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Inojosa carelesty answered them who brought him the Treaty of Aft to Sign, 1614. That the King his Mafter had but newly forbid him to make any Peace with the Duke of Savoy. The Mediators Surprifed at this sudden refusal, defired of him however a Suspension of Arms for Forty days, till they could have an answer from Madrid. The Governor of Milan denied this, and gave them to understand, that Winter fealon was already begun, and the bad Weather did oblige him enough to grant them what they Demanded. The Marquis of Bedmar, the Spanish Ambassador at Venice, made a great noise there, saying to the Senate, That twas loud Injustice, that the Duke of Savoy was not punishe for bit Assempts against the Repose of Italy. Ought not all the Potentates, who are Interested to preferve its quiet, unite with the King my Mafter, and Chaftife this Rafbnefs of the Duke of Savoy ? Carleton, the English Ambassador, kept to another fort of Language. He follicited with all his might, the Senate to declare, that the Treaty of Aft was reasonable, and that all the differerested Princes believ'd his Catholick Majesty ought to be contented with it. Bedman maintain'd against Carleton, That this was not the King of Griat-Britains Opinion, and that he had explained himfelf in this matter to the Spanish Ambassador at London. The Venetions faw, that this Treaty

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Treaty gave the Catholick King all that he could reasonably demand. In the mean time, because they would not further provoke the Spaniards, who mindedto do them much mischief, they observed all possible discretion in their Answers to the Marquis of Bedmar. We are very forry, faid they, that the Conduct of the Duke of Savoy has constrained the Catholick King to come to fo great Extremities : Bub we hope that God will inspire him with milder Sentiments, and that his Majesty will Sacrifice a part of his Refentment, and rest contented with the Justification, which the Duke of Savoy will never be far from giving him. Thefe Civil dealings and Compliments nettled the Spaniards, who perceived, that they were not disposed to let them take the liberty of Revenge upon the Duke of Savoy, according to their own will and fancy, nor bumble bim as much as they pleafed.

Give me leave here to make some Reflections upon these particulars. What is the ground of this Controversie between Savoy and Mantua, which makes for Two whole years so great a noise? Twas well nigh puting Italy, and perhaps Europe in a Flame. Almost all Potentates did concern themselves in it. The dispute in the bottom, is but some small Sum of Money, or at most some Castles which the Dukes of Savoy pretended to, against the House of Mantua.

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Here's the Reason why Charles Emmanuel takes up Arms, overburdens his Subjucts, carries desolation into Montferrat, which becomes the Theatre of War. The Cardinal Duke of Mantua, reprefented to us as a Person of no very strong Head-piece, and guided by Interested Ministers, had nevertheless the cunning Ingenuity to bring Spain on his Side, though at first they were against him; whether this was an Action of his ability and parts, or an effect of Fortune, his Affair became the Catholick King's business. But upon what grounds did Philip, or rather his Agents, reject the Treaty of Aft, and believe themselves in the right, for to kindle a War and destroy Piedment? Upon a Trifle, upon I do not know what punctitio of Honous, Is't then for this, that Princes imagine they are dispens'd with, from observing the chief Rules of Humanity, and keeping the most express Commandments of Jefus Christ? Sad unhappy Condition of Men, if they must fuffer, that they who are fer over them to fludy the Welfare and Prefervation of others, should lay waft Provinces, ruine their Subjects and Neighbours, and cause the Lives of an infinite number to be loft, in satisfaction to their Vanity, and for the pleasure of their capricious Humours?

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All the King of Spain's Agents in Italy bustled after a strange manner, in order to engage the Governor of Milan to make a new Irruption into Piedmont. They flatter'd themselves that this Effort would render the Duke of Savoy more Submiffive and tractable. Inojosa prest forward through the Reproaches of his Countrymen on all Sides, prepared for some motion, but this was so slowly, as Prince Thomas, Son of Charles Emmanuel, had time to prevent the Spaniards, and enter himself into the Milanese Country. The City of Candia was taken at this time, and put to Fire and Sword. The Savoyard's Army return'd loaded with confiderable Booty. The Mediators complained of this Action. But the Duke of Savey disclaim'd his Son's proceedings: Twas endeavoured to excuse him by faying, that the Prince knew nothing of what was done. The Spaniards afterwards repair'd their loss, by taking some fmall Places in Piedmont. Charles Emmanuel, a little time after, intercepted a Letter from the King of Spain, to the Governor of Milan. 'Twas there feen, that some certain Persons had done some ill Offices to biojosa with his Majesty; He seem'd much dissatisfied with Inojosa's Conduct. He was order'd to cause his Army to take their Winter Quarters in Piedment, and not to agree to any accommodation with the Duke of Savoy, unless

unless he did before hand submit to every thing his Majesty had prescribed before his last motions. Charles Emmanuel did not fail to make this Letter publick : And he found thereby a double convenience, one in morrifying Inojofa's Arrogance, whom this Letter had ftrongly centured; the other, in making it appear to the Princes, who interceded for a Peace, that Philip intended as absolute a Command over the Princes of Italy, as he had over his Grandees of Spain.

In the time that the Marquils of Rambo-Lewis XIII. villet began his Negociation in Italy, Lewis by XIII. enter'd into the Fourteenth year of his Age. Here then you may see him Mercure in his Majority Conformable to the Edict Francois. of Charles V. made at Vincennes, in the Year 1374. and Registred in the Parlement at Park with great Solemnity the following Year. One might think it strange, that he, of all the Kings of France, who was Surnamed the Wife, Recherches Mould judge that a Prince could be car de Paschier pable to Govern of himself so young. Lib. II. Historians relate, that Charles believed, Chap. 18. it was very important for the Minority of Kings to be as thort as possibly could Mezerai be, for fear the Regent of the Realin, de Charles should grow so powerful as to Dethrone V. his Pupil, or at least carry away from him a great part of his Estate and Authority. The good King thought more of his Family upon this occasion, than

any else: He had not his health so well. and his Two Sons in all appearance would be left Minors: Of Three Brothers, whom Charles had, Two of them did not want for Boldness or Ambition. Having now a Power to declare fooner, For to secure the Crown to his Children, it behov'd the King, to forward their Majority. The Uncles had less time to undertake any thing against the young King, fooner than he would Govern of himself : Of the Princes who might be mistrufted, that Person might be turn'd aside from governing Affairs, by others, who were better minded, under the plaufible pretention of the King's being at Age. That which is fingular in this new Law is, that he, in favour of whom the Father made it, had need of a Tutor and Regent the greatest part of his Life. He was out of his Wits, became crack-brain'd and infirm in Body. And this fad Accident caus'd in France all the great Evils which Charles V. had a defign to prevent.

This very Edict proves to us, that tis a long time fince the Council of France fet themselves on work, to set out piteous Prefaces at the beginning of their most folemn Ordinances. Charles faith in his, That the Sons of France have fuch excellent Mafters, so good Governours to inform them, as they become capable of managing themselves, and ad-

administring Affairs, much sooner than other Children. We have feen Two 1614. Princes under Age in the Two last Reigns. Have the Regents had the care to give their Sons any extraodinary Education ? Was France to unprovided of Men of Merir. that Souve and Villerey should be judg'd the most capable of instructing the young King? Charles V. besides, brought another Reason, which is no better than this. God, faid he, who gives Sovereign Power to Kings, never fails to enrich them the soonest as may be with necessary Qualities to make use of it. Alas! Let's behold now, how God doth Miracles to enlighten young Princes Understandings, and make them more Prudent than other Children? These Gentlemen seduc'd early by Flattery, hurried away by their Passions, which find no great ftop in their way, usually begin later than others, to become rea-Sonable, and oftentimes by a just Judgment of God upon a People whom he punisheth, a King never knows the First Principles of Reason and good Sense.

According to Charles the Fifth's Edick, a King ought not to be Inaugurated and Crowned till after the time of his Minority. But this Formality was past over in favour of his Son, who had publish this Law. Charles VI. was a Minor when his Father died, and his Uncles contended amongst themselves for the Regency. Lewn, Duke of Anjou, pretended

1614.

tended to it, as being the Eldest of the Brothers to the deceased King. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgundy would have a share in it. The Duke of Bourbon. Uncle to young Charles by the Mother's Side, maintained for his part, that he ought to be call'd to the Administration of the Government as well as the Paternal Uncles. Some Lords chofen for one Party and t'other, were Arbitrators of the Difference. Twas determined That Charles VI. notwithflanding his Father's Law, might be Inaugurated and Crowned, Affairs dispatcht in his Name. and under his Seal; the Dukes of Berry, Bourgundy and Bourbon might take care of the King's Education, and of Lewis Duke of Orleans, his Brother; the Duke of Anjon might have the Name and Honours of Regent, but hould do nothing, but in Concert with the Three other Princes. From that time it hath been a Custom to Crown Kings during their Minority, and difparch Affairs in their Names and under their Seals.

The first Act in the King's Majority.

The First thing they made young Lewis Enact in his Majority, appeared to be an Act of Religion and Justice: I don't know whether Policy and Diffimulation were not the fecret Motives to this Performance. They were willing to impose upon the People, who easily believe what they wish for with all Fervency. His Majesty held a Council the First day

Mersure Francoife. 1614.

BOOK WA LE WAS XIII

of Odober The Declaration, which he would have to be Registred nexeday, was there dispatche and Sealed. Leng wood at first promised to study every thing while was Expedient for a most Christian King, who was Zenlous of God's Glory w lover of Peace and the Tranquility of his Subjecte, to watch the Execution of the good Lams publishe by bis Bredeceffors, and make new ones, as be should be advised du the approach? ing Affembly of the States General of the Bodmer The wEdict of Name's was afterwards Confirmed in all its Articles, in the Orders and Acts which were made; and laftly, in every thing that was fince agreed to, either in the Interpresation of it, Gorin its Execution; which they would, as twee faid, invisiably herp and obferes, isfeer har ving forbid his Subjects to enter into any Leagues, contrary to the Well-being of the Smee, with foreign Princes, and to receive any fecret Pentions from 'em, the King confirm'd his Father's Edicts sgainft Duela and the Ordinanois of his Prede ceffors against Swearing and Blasphemy I should not refute to give do pious and just a Declaration in all appearance, its just Praises, if the Son of him who made it, had not declared Solemnly, that nelther his Father or his Grandfather had ever any Intention to continue fuch an Edick, which they had promifed fo many times to maintain as a Perpenual and Irrevicable Lan, How then ? Were thefe Two .

Two Kings, who had the magnificent Sirnames conferred upon them of Great and Juft, by the Confession of their Son. Men without Conscience and Probity ? Will Posterity ever believe a thing of this Nature? As for my felf, I thall always preserve a better Opinion of Henry IV. and Lews XIII. I can't be perfuaded that they were so bad as Lewis XIV. represents them to us.

The K. takes his Seat of Juftice in the Parlement ut Paris.

Mercure Francois. 1614.

The next Morning, being the Second day of Odober, the King went to take his Seat of Juftice in the Parlement at Pari ; as he was going, and in his Seat, he was accompanied with all imaginable Pomp and Splendour. May de Medich made a fhort Discourse there, in which her Majefty declared, That the put the Administration of Affairs into her Sen's hands, who for fome days had been in his Majority. Lewi greatly thank't his Mother, and ended in declaring, that he was willing that his Mother should always continue to take Care of him, and Govern the State, and this is what the good Princess had discreetly brought about, with a great deal of diligence. She preferved her Authority, without making her self Responsible for what should be done hereafter. Too happy ! If the Favourite, who began already to infinuate himself into the young King, had not banisht her from the Court, and the Chief Minister of State, whom it bar felf

Book V. LEWIS XIII

self had Establisht in the place of the deceased Favourite, had not drove her away out of the Kingdom.

Sileri Chancellour, and Verdun Chief President, made Speeches upon the Majority of the Kings of France. Servin the Advocate General's Discourse was more remarkable, for the prudent and Religious Remonstrances he made to the young King. There's only this one thing I have to find fault with, that fo grave · Magistrate was himself ensured with this base flattery, which was introduc'd then into the Parlement, and is fince establish there so shamefully. Servin heap'd up upon Mary de Medicis exceffive Praises for her Administration of the Government. Amongst the good Counfels he gave Lewi, with a Christian and French liberty, ought he to have inferred, that he should behave himself as his Mother should Advise, who rather aimed at the maintaining of her Authority, and the Advancement of her Creatures and Favourites, than as the Instruction of her Son in Religion and Virtue, and the making of his People happy and fatiffied in her Administration of the Government? The Ceremony ended with reading and registring a Declaration de-Spatcht the day before.

Search-

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Searching as carefully as twas possible for me, what regarded the History of Lewis XIII. in his Minority, Loftentimes wondered to find fo little matter touching the young King's Education. His Father had made Gilles de Souvre his Go vernor. But it feems that upon this occalion, Henry IV. less thought of choosing a Gentleman who had the Qualities, which this important Employment required, than of Recompening the faithfulgels of an old Servant. I can find out that Souvre bestirr'd himself to fettle his Family, and procure his Son, the Marquis of Courtenvaux a confiderable Office : But I could never learn what he did to give Lenn a Royal Education. Sowere's Family, which this Prince bath made Illustrious, did not continue long after his death. The Heires carried all the Means away into another Person's House, who was a Minister of State, and whole Father, of an obscure Birth, was advanc'd to the chief Dignity of the long Robe.

Memoires de la Regence de Maried e Medicis. Melang es d'Histoire O de Litterature par Vigneul-Marville.

Vanquelin des Ivetaux was the King's first Tutous. A Person of Quality, whose Memoires we have, saith that Vanquelin, was a Man of great Merit, and very capable to Instruct a Prince: But the Character which a Modern Author gives us of the extragant and romantick Amours, and of the Epicurean Life and Death of this Man, is a certain proof that

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that Henry IV. did not well diftinguish Men of Worth The Cardinal Perron 1614. used many Intrigues to get his Brother into the place of being his Tutour. He offered himself to take the care and directions of the Dauphin's Studies. Yet Henry IV. of his own Inclination chose Vanquelin. He did not long continue in the Employment. The envy and jealousie of fome, caused him to be removed from it in a years time after the death of Henry IV. Nicholas le Feure succeeded him. This was a Person noted for his Knowledge and Piety. The late King had fent him to the Prince of Conde, who was willing to Recompense le Fevre in being a means to procure Vanquelin's place, in which he behaved himself with much approbation. Le Fevre died the year after, and Fleurance Rivant, an able Mathematician, as 'tis faid, rofe from the Office of being Sub-Turour, to be Tutour in Chief. A Youth who paffeth through fo many different hands, doth not usually become a Man of Abilities

Lewn XIII. learnt very little Latin. Hifterie de Falconry, and the exercise of Hunting, Louis XIII. pleased him more than Study; he lookt Liv. 1. very well after Hawks, and became in Hunting, the greatest Rider in his Kingdom. His Majesty, saith an Historian, called to his Dogs in Perfection. Had it not been much more to the purpose; to have raught him, how to speak to Men?

Ee 3

Twas likewise observed, that Lewis was 1614. no bad Gunner, and that he very well understood Fortification. These Qualifications, which might be of some nie to a younger Brother of the Nobility, who is to feek and make out his own Fortune. are por in any wife fit for a King, if you except from hence understanding and knowledge in Fortifications. He may for his diversion Hunt and flie his Hawks; bur he ought to Employ his time in famething that's better, than to be expert in Falcons and Hounds. I fould have nothing to fay against Lewis having fome knowledge in Artillery, which is never fary for a King, who ought to make himfelf capable of Commanding his Armies, when the publick-good requires it. But is not this ridiculous that heis fuffer'd to burden his Memory with the names and use of she imalleft things in Artillery? They ought so have been constantly instilling into his Head Precepts weeful and important to one who intends to Govern well. In a Pack of Hounds; he could call every one of them by their Names : But tis a bufinels more worthy of a Prince, to lears the knowledge of Men, to diffinguish from others those who are more capable of Places of greatest Dignitiv in the State, and to Reward those, who are of good Use and Service to the Publick. Lewis XIII had always good Inclinations and Principles in him of Virtue and

Book V. LEWIS XIII.

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and Equity: Courtiers dared not speak any thing of obscenity or Swear in his 1614. Presence. He seared God, loved Justice, and was willing to do good to his People. If Source and others had been diligent to Inftruct and Cultivate what God had given him of Judgement and Integrity; they might have done confiderable Service to their Prince and Country. Lewis then might not have been in the unhappy necessity of leaving all to a Favourite, or Minister of State, who did not think of any thing, but the better Establishment of their Credit and Fortunes, in raising to day a Civil Wan, and to monrow a Foreign one, and the total

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